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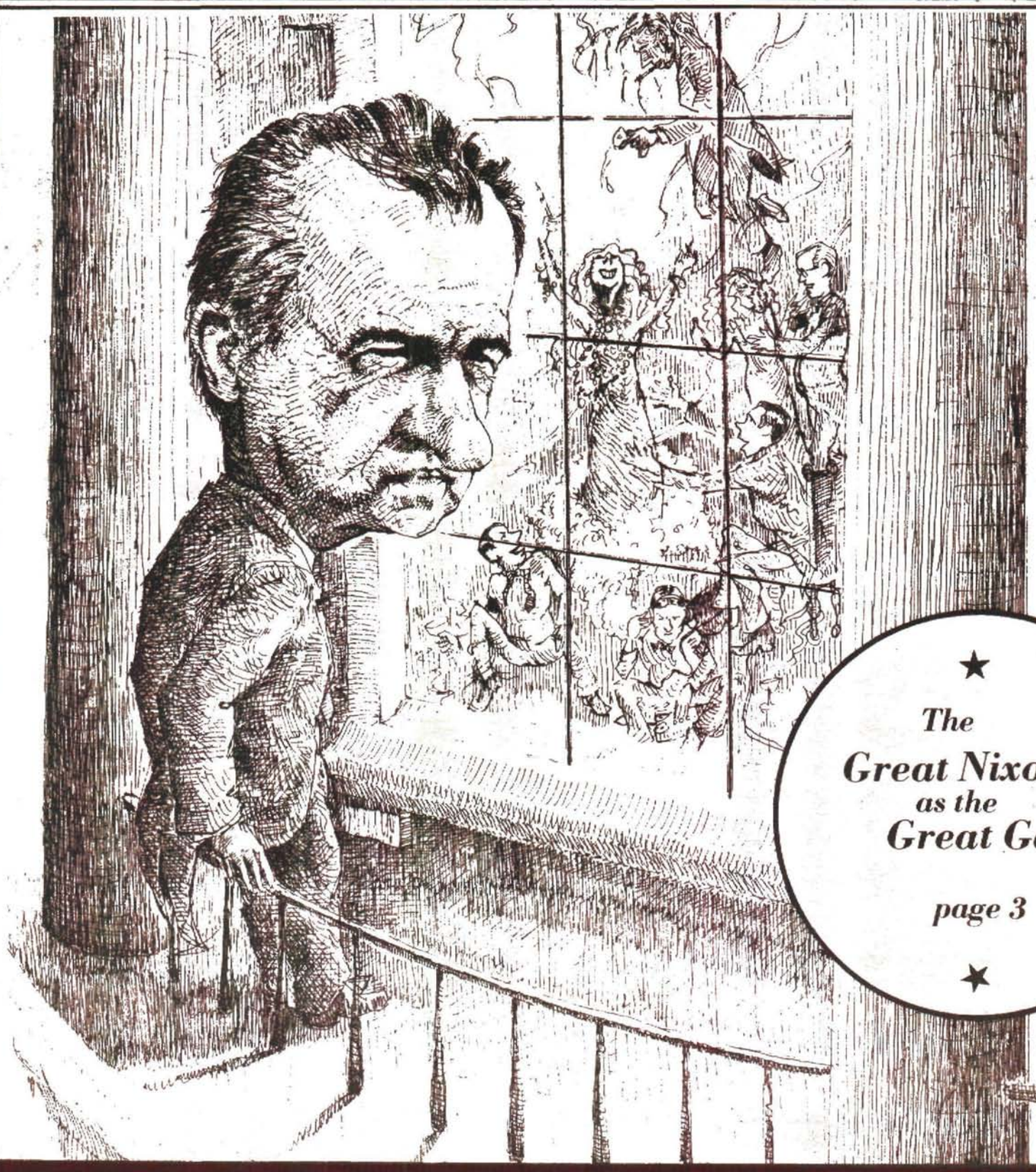

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The
Great Nixon
as the
Great Gatsby

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★ *the Spectacle of Watergate* ★

and reviews of Eisenhower, Hoffer, Jencks, and Rostow

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the ALTERNATIVE

to bare the witness and the truth

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☆The Continuing Crisis☆

• August! Gentle drifts of goldenrod fill the air, convulsing nostrils. Locusts howl in a nocturnal chorus with crickets the size of bullfrogs. Vast clouds of moths, mosquitoes, flies, and other of nature's wonders advance in gaudy profusion across the fertile breadth of America. Lush verdure of gorgeous variety crawls invincibly over country buildings, fences, signposts, and slow-moving livestock, leaving those strollers who would fain caress them with rashes and open sores. August! And a jolly sun scorches the hide off America, drying up ponds and small rivers, searing the flora and tormenting the fauna. Even the indolent bovine of the dairy lands seek refuge from the glorious sun. In Washington the mules retire.

• Every civilized man retreats to a heavily screened saloon, there to hole up in bibulous and congenial anticipation of the first frost. But the irrepressible Bill O. Douglas, Supreme Court Justice and naturalist, early in the month outlaws war and plows into the wilds of Washington, to disport with billows of airborne insects, to thrash in the poison sumac and the thorns, and to provide provender for chiggers, lice, and ticks. Not since Kellogg hoodwinked Briand had the feat been attempted, and Thurgood Marshall had to be rushed from his hammock to exorcise the mischief. Nevertheless, not one bomber missed a sortie.

• August! The Watergate Hearings droned on and on. And when on August 8 they fell silent, the commentary droned on and on as did the awesome struggle between President Nixon and Mr. Archibald Cox for the much-coveted White House tapes. Not until Wednesday, August 8, did there develop a story that could compete with the Watergate Spectacle for the citizenry's attention. On that day the story of the Houston slaughters broke, and politicoes breathed easier as Americans focused on the homosexual molestation and murder of some twenty-seven children. Allegedly young Mr. Dean Corll, a homosexual electrician (or gay as they say), had employed two even younger men, Mr. Elmer Henley and Mr. David Brooks, to entice children to what the press described as "sex parties"—parties at which various eccentric sexual divertissements were practiced and where the participants, while in the throes of voluptuous frenzy, performed at least twenty-seven murders. It was a new American record, surpassing the 1971 record set by Mr. Juan Corona and casting doubt on the scientific findings of London's Dr. Brian Richards who had just announced that "if every man and woman had as much sex as they wanted, there would be less fighting, cheating, twisting and other forms of evil in the world." Two men of the cloth were arrested in the Tennessee interior for

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Editorial

The Great Nixon as the Great Gatsby

If Mr. Jay Gatsby of West Egg, Long Island, were alive today, he would be making heavy weather of it. Whensoever he motored through the valley of ashes thither into Manhattan, stones would bounce off his roadster, photographers would assault him, and the scriveners of news would jam their microphones into his face. Fainthearted mothers would call their children indoors as he drove by. For Gatsby, the man who "paid a high price for living too long with a single dream," is an identical precursor to Richard M. Nixon, our own great Gatsby.

Today, the Great Nixon sits in his vast white mansion enveloped in desolation. Everything has fallen to pieces, and the dream he pursued so resolutely and energetically still dances beyond his grasp, taunting him brazenly. The heir to Gatsby has broken up against realities that proved too resistant even for the fires of his dream.

Nixon could go so far and no further. His faith in himself and in his dream just did not provide enough puissance to overcome Washington's open jaws, subtle conventionalities of which he never seemed sufficiently aware. Perhaps had he been a famous general, a father to his people, a man able to draw on emotional currents other than reverence towards Lincoln's office, he might have triumphed. But, alas, he never had the magic, and everything his Bright Boys did to spruce him up only left him looking ridiculous.

He seems to have been a competent administrator, but that was not enough. He had a fabulous dream, wafting of money, power, and glory. It has been his undoing. It was ever meant to be.

What Scott Fitzgerald said of the Great Gatsby is said today of the Great Nixon. They have both been in "the service of a vast, vulgar, meretricious beauty." His service to it was slavish and fundamental. It forever provoked him to stalk advantages and opportunities. In time a madness settled on his house. His aides were the oddest fish ever to enter the White House. Roosevelt hired a brain trust; Nixon hired bureaucratic psychopaths and sharpsters. And his critics would have it no other way, for they were all driven by the American lust for the lurid and the calamitous: Nixon, his assistant presidents, the meathead senators, the media magnificoes. Lionel Trilling saw Gatsby as "America itself." So too is Nixon.

It is true that all of the elements of Nixon's dream did not spring full-blown from his own imagination. The conceptions of power, of politics, of virtue, and of majesty remain the balmy notions of the hinds who are braying at his door. And the skulduggery that was the work of that mob of rogues and con artists that he allowed to swarm through his mansion is the kind of "tough politics" that has romped in the imaginations of the Republic's adolescent politicoes for years. The conception was old stuff. But, like Gatsby, Nixon was the man who dared to dream of all of it at once.

The rootless pragmatism of Nixon was also in control of Gatsby. And their trashy values eventually concealed the vestiges of splendor that remained in their dreams. No matter how much optimism they invested in them, they were doomed. They were doomed I suspect because one cannot pursue dreams that bulldoze sensible values—certainly not if those dreams are preposterous. And they were doomed because the world will yield only so much to cleverness, audacity, and obsessive self-interest.

In reaching too far Nixon, like Gatsby, committed the characteristic blunder of the parvenu. He became intoxicated by his new position and sacrificed his judgment. Had he settled for being a competent administrator and a *bourgeois gentilhomme,* his future would have been assured. But he wanted to be a masterpiece, a Kennedy snatched from martyrdom, and that was asking too much. It demanded surrounding himself with that fabulous mob of hollow frauds. Their scrofulous scheming did him in.

Plotting arcanely under his great roof day and night, they brought a kind of efficiency and vengefulness to national politics that had been hitherto unknown even in Gary, Indiana. It was eerie. Johnson and Kennedy dabbled a bit with IRS investigations and technological wizardry, and—when one of their colleagues was caught *flagrante delicto*—a discrete cover-up was applied. Any congressman or senator with a shred of experience and decency understood. But LBJ and JFK never graduated to anything as extensive and as purely political as "dirty tricks" and the rest of the mysterious argot of the Nixonian Era. Johnson's cronies were uncomplicated boodlers for the most part, and the Kennedys merely absconded with the Department of Justice. But Nixon's crowd captured the entire executive branch and the Republican Party, and then they began shaking down the nation's great business corporations along with a few unions and assorted lobbyists. And all for what? All for the furtherance of a dream.

Such enormities could not be countenanced, and they should not have been. Not when they tried to steamroll the realities of Washington and not when their values were even blowzier than the values that presently prevail there. A president can disregard the courts and

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using serpents in their worship of the Deity, and in Dallas, Texas, an unruly mob of police stormed the apartment of Mr. John Paul Norman, 45, the impresario of a national homosexual prostitution ring, the Odyssey Foundation. After arresting Mr. Norman and treating him roughly, they carried off the foundation's supply of novelties, sexual accoutrements, and rare books.

• A mysterious *contretemps* involving Maryland politicoes, construction companies, and financiers reached into the office of the Vice-President, prompting him to break White House custom and hold a press conference. Though many members of the press were characteristically garrulous and ill-mannered (prompting some commentators to demand that all traffic in spiritous refreshment cease twenty-four hours before scheduled press conferences) the press conference was surprisingly civilized, leaving both sides with a newly-found respect for their opposition. The Vice-President denied any wrongdoing, and thus far no dirt has appeared, though his successor as chief executive of Baltimore County, Mr. Dale Anderson (a Democrat) has been indicted.

• Mr. Nixon visited with the heads of the governments of Japan and of Australia, and elections were held in the Philippines and in Greece. Tragedy struck in Detroit where the fifteen-year-old guru and multimillionaire, Maharaj Ji, was assaulted by a maniac wielding a cream-filled pie. Senator Proxmire met with writers from the *Washington Post* to defend that $2,758 hair transplant that he had tried to pass off as a tax deduction, and the founder and head of the militant poverty organization, the National Welfare Rights Organization, Mr. George Wiley, perished when he fell from his yacht off Chesapeake Beach, Maryland. Forest fires threatened in Utah, Oregon, and Montana, and the National Science Foundation awarded Harvard $75,000 to discover why water appears to put out fires.

• From Italy comes word that the toothache which was killing Mr. Vincenzo Malagoni, finally killed him. Mr. Malagoni, after an unendurable wait in his dentist's office, leaped through a third story window and passed away. Charles Winstead, the FBI agent who shot Mr. John Dillinger, died as did Mr. Fulgencio Batista, the Cuban patriot.

• In France reformers had their day when they pressured the Superior Council of the Magistrature to relieve judge Maurice Rosseau of his curial functions. The Hon. Rosseau had refused to allow a trouser-clad woman to testify in his court, and on an earlier occasion he established dubious precedent by refusing a couple named "Trognon" to adopt a child because he thought their name "ridiculous."

• Back in Anthon, Iowa, Mr. Charles Osborne, 79, complains that though he has seen ninety-six doctors, he is still at the mercy of continued hiccups, an affliction he has suffered for fifty-one years. California's Senator Tunney has announced that for one week, two dol-

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hoodwink the Congress. He can hide from the media, defraud conservatives, and sucker liberals. All these things have been practiced in Washington for years, but never simultaneously! Even Washington demands a little prudence, a touch of forbearance, a whiff of principle.

So perhaps like Gatsby, Mr. Nixon has held his last party. Gatsby, who always held himself aloof from the congeries of slobs who swarmed through his mansion, was eventually destroyed by them, by the powers he set in motion while pursuing his dream, and by the conventionalities of his betters. Maxwell Perkins described Gatsby's gorgeous fling as a "pathetic episode" conveying "a sense of eternity." Perkins was a wise judge of fiction and I have no doubt were he alive today he would apply the same description to Watergate. When I watch the parade of sobered assistant presidents filing before Senator Ervin's committee, and when I listen to their melange of lies, revelation, and gas, I am reminded of Nick Carraway's declaration to Gatsby: "You're worth the whole damn bunch put together." Nixon should have been treated better, though he does not deserve it.

R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

Richard Herrnstein and the Nature of Intelligence

In September, 1971, *The Atlantic* published an article by Professor Richard Herrnstein of Harvard University, entitled "I.Q." Herrnstein cited data to indicate that human intelligence depended about 80 percent on hereditary influences and about 20 percent on environmental ones, and argued that as social and physical environmental factors became more equal, the influence of heredity on intelligence would become even more pronounced. Accordingly, he concluded, one could expect that as society moved closer to becoming a meritocracy, social stratification would become more, not less, rigid—or in short, that "greater wealth, health, freedom, fairness and educational opportunity are *not* going to give us the egalitarian society of our philosophical heritage."

The reaction to "I.Q." was swift and predictable. Herrnstein was immediately branded a careless scholar and/or a racist by the legions who found his ideas either wrong or merely unpalatable. At Harvard, he became for a time the special target of the leaders of the new wave: his classes were picketed and his lectures heckled; leaflets and petitions floated about demanding his dismissal and the banning of his "racist" teachings; and on several occasions he was prevented from speaking at meetings where he attempted to explain his conclusions to students. Many of Herrnstein's colleagues protested this treatment as a violation of academic freedom. Others agreed in part, but criticized the professor for publishing "I.Q." in a popular rather than an academic journal. Still others, especially junior faculty, thought Herrnstein deserved everything he got. And in the background, an emotional and unenlightening debate proceeded on the substance of the article itself.

All this, of course, is neither new nor surprising. The controversy over the nature of human intelligence stretches from the Social Darwinists of the nineteenth century to the environmentalists and behaviorists who have held the field in our own era. Particularly today, when it has become popular in many circles to insist that social and economic distinctions are "wrong," any suggestion that such distinctions may reflect differences in ability rather than discrimination will be met with a stream of impassioned and self-righteous rhetoric, prominently featuring the word "racism." Quite simply, "I.Q." touched on one of the most emotional and potentially explosive issues in contemporary American public discourse.

It is unfortunate that any discussion of this topic must take place in such a context, because Herrnstein's article raises serious questions which deserve the most dispassionate and reflective consideration possible. The two most important are these: first, what *do* we know about the nature of human intelligence; and second, what are the implications of that knowledge for public policy.

The first question, of course, immediately raises the issue of what one means by intelligence in the first place. Many agree with Harvard psychologist Jeremy Kagan, who argues that I.Q. tests merely measure the degree of one's socialization into middle-class, white American values. Intelligence, they say, is undefinable, and attempting to measure it leads only to pernicious and invalid distinctions.

In a certain abstract sense, this is true. No one can say absolutely that "intelligence is 'x', and we can measure it precisely with test 'y'." But this increasingly popular position misses the point. Intelligence, like freedom, is not an abstract concept—it is firmly rooted in society and culture, and is no less valid or useful because of that. Within that context, one can safely generalize that in western civilization, intelligence involves logical ability, the ability to deal with abstracts, and facility of communication. Within limits, these qualities can be measured. Whether these particular qualities are more worthy of emphasis in some ultimate sense than any others is both irrelevant and unanswerable (although a good historical case can be made that these three qualities of intelligence have made the most significant contributions in man's efforts to deal with his environment). The point is that in our complex and technological civilization, intelligence as defined above is the most scarce and vital commodity necessary to perpetuate and improve our way of life. Indeed, without such a context, the word "intelligence" ceases to have any real meaning.

Accordingly, I.Q. tests are significant not as indicators of the basic "worth" of any individual, but rather as measures of a person's ability to think in the ways most valued by our civilization. It follows that the results of such tests can be very significant indeed.

It is these results that Herrnstein attempts to deal with. First, he notes that there is a direct correlation between the level of I.Q. and the type of job one holds—with the most talented individuals in the professions and the lowest in unskilled labor. In short, in our society economic success is highly correlated with intelligence as measured by I.Q. tests.

Second, Herrnstein treats the issue of whether heredity or environment is the most significant factor in determining I.Q. It is known that intelligence levels correlate highly between parents and their children, but this fails to separate the influences of heritability and environment. Accordingly, Herrnstein goes on to cite the work of Berkeley psychologist Arthur Jensen, among others, who discovered evidence indicating that intelligence depends about 80 percent on genetic factors. For example, a study of 122 sets of identical twins, separated from birth and raised in vastly different environments, revealed an 85 percent correlation in I.Q. within the average set of twins. Conversely, studies of sets of foster children raised in the same homes showed only a 24 percent correlation in intelligence. While only an expert in regression analysis can comment on the validity of the 80 percent figure, it is clear from this data that heredity is a very significant factor indeed.

If this is true, are there differences in

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the ALTERNATIVE October 1973

Richard Wheeler

The Watergate Triangle

Although the press has by now expended far more verbiage on Watergate than on the Kennedy assassination, the psychic shock to the Republic so far has not been comparable. While the response to Watergate has been serious, the public is taking it in stride, perhaps because politicians are expected to act nefariously. The assassination was different: regicide committed by rifle savaged the American soul far more than regicide committed by news coverage, and thus the public concern about Watergate assumes a lower profile than the press coverage would indicate. If impeachment proceedings are inaugurated against the President, that may change. (The Democrats, seeking to maximize the damage but avoid a constitutional crisis, have two options: censure, or initiating an impeachment debate in the House, and then arranging a close—but failing—vote.)

In the Watergate embroglio, Lord Acton's famous aphorism has become flesh and blood—especially its latter half: absolute power corrupts absolutely. For it is obvious that whatever crimes were committed were done before the altars of power rather than for personal gain. These were not pocketliners, but *patriots*, refulgent with a zeal to advance the power and security of *their* sort of president. It is a phenomenon of an increasingly corrupt public life that its participants assume public and private personalities; that what is done and said for public consumption varies sharply from the private man. Thus in Washington one finds men who publicly speak the King's English, but profane the air in private (Lyndon Johnson was such a one). Men who punctiliously commend their own parties and leaders publicly, while raging at them in private; men who in private discuss the racy aspects of power—sex, money, campaign contributions, blackmail—with an easy certitude about their impact on public affairs, but who in public never so much as hint of such things. This duality of politicians lies at the heart of Acton's formula. To the extent that politicians have dual personalities, one of those personalities is serving the goddess of power. The wider the difference between their public and private selves, the more corrupt they are. (There are exceptions, of course.) In this sense, power has corrupted most politicians on the Potomac. There are few indeed whose public and private lives and utterances are mutually consistent.

Among those who have acquired a dual nature in the service of power is Richard Nixon. One can say this without regard for his technical guilt or innocence in the Watergate affair. We have been treated over the past four or five years to some remarkable presidential moral insights that ought to have set the tone for his whole administration. It was President Nixon who warned us that a Republic requires a virtuous citizenry; who has reminded us of the decline of Rome and its lessons. Who has begged for the restoration of simple virtues, for abandonment of greed, swift punishment for criminals, the restoration of calm, a justice reasonably balanced between public order and the rights of defendants. Here was a president who welcomed the Rev. Billy Graham gladly, who set a tone of piety in the White House, who resorted to Quaker philosophy, who saw the positive result of his efforts to calm the nation. He was sincere. Totally sincere, totally earnest. There was not a one of his homilies that he did not believe in the center of his soul.

But the presidency, since the days of Franklin Roosevelt, is no longer the simple executive office of a New World republic, but rather the pinnacle of global power. In part, it grew to such incomprehensible power because liberals wanted to build the office. Liberals were infatuated with a strong executive, able to run around Congress and appeal directly to the people. But in part, also, the growth of the office is the aftermath of triumph in World War II, followed by decades of cold war and constant crisis, all of which thrust imperial power on a people and government not particularly eager to assume such roles. The result is that today American presidents—to put it in an unvarnished way—have the powers of absolute monarchs. For example, no such monarch in prerevolutionary Europe had the power to conscript his subjects for military purposes, or to tax a third of their income away. Richard Nixon's actual powers and discretionary authority surely excel even that of the sun-king, Louis XIV. We are governed by kings, but we also elect our kings every four years rather than accept dynastic rule, and thus plunge ourselves into a ceaseless struggle for power, a struggle that has reached unconscionable dimensions. Such struggles give rise to the underground politics of Watergate.

It is precisely because Mr. Nixon and his cohorts believed deeply in law and order and decency that they resorted to underground war to preserve that vision. The guerrilla war against political enemies and the press was abominable. The monstrous hypocrisy of it apparently never even occurred to those who were conducting it in behalf of the icons of virtue. They were the schizoid men of politics who did public things and private things, whited sepulchers. Most of Mr. Nixon's adult life had been spent in politics, to the point where the imperatives of power had remolded his character. It was instinctive both for him to be virtuous, even sanctimonious in public, and to establish that virtue in private not by the force of reason, but by turning the White House into a commando post from which issue political raids on his opponents.

But Watergate neither begins nor ends with Republican hypocrisy. The same monarchical power that devolved upon Mr. Nixon had also devolved upon Messrs. Kennedy and Johnson. Prior to Watergate it was they and their minions who had acquired the public reputation for underhanded and nefarious politics—and not the Republicans. (The press, which usually accompanies its coverage of a scandal with backgrounders and histories of previous cor-

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ruption in other administrations, has been curiously silent about recent history.) The history of both Democratic administrations is studded with circumstances which could have been blown into Watergate proportions if the press had been so inclined. In 1964, for example, at the height of the Goldwater campaign, the senator's press secretary, Vic Gold, threw a female Democratic spy out of the Goldwater entourage, and the press treated it as an amusing feature story, never bothering to inquire who had planted her there, never moralizing about political spying, never lusting to nail the crime on higher-ups in the Johnson Administration. Bugging? Attorney General Robert Kennedy apparently authorized bugs, and had a spat or two with J. Edgar Hoover about their use, if memory serves me correctly. And he surely harassed Jimmy Hoffa and Roy Cohn, among others. Then there was the bugging of State Department security expert Otto Otepka, and the perjured cover-up of that event. Otepka had occasioned the Kennedy Administration's wrath by blowing the whistle against several of its appointees. Cover-up? There was the instance of Clark Clifford scurrying around to the Washington press to quash stories about the troubled Johnson aide Walter Jenkins, and the amazing gathering of the whole Camelot hierarchy at Chappaquiddick to put a gloss on events there. Obstruction of justice? It has yet to be explained how Ted Kennedy emerged from an apparent negligent homicide with nothing more than a slap on the hand. Harassment of newsmen? Ask Pulitzer-prize winning Clark Mollenhoff about the stones turned over by the Johnson Administration—which Mollenhoff had assailed—to prevent him from ascending to the presidency of the National Press Club. Cover-up? From the memoirs of Robert Winter-Berger we learn that Lyndon Johnson felt himself fully impeachable as the result of the financial manipulations of his protégé Bobby Baker.

Is there any doubt that the Democrats had used nefarious means to maintain their power? Except for the Johnson-Baker pocketlining, the Democrats no less than the Republicans were motivated purely by the instinct for power. One of the more fascinating things to come to light in the wake of Watergate is the revelation that the Kennedy regime had harassed Richard Nixon with IRS audits—which is a standard tactic of underground politics. Thus if Mr. Nixon and his cohorts turned out to be masters of the game, it is because they had excellent teachers in previous administrations. For the Democrats to discover now that all evil emerges from the bowels of the opposition party is to indulge in unspeakable cynicism. Even Saint George McGovern, we recollect, voiced differing public and private opinions about Senator Eagleton, and was thus among those who for the sake of power say one thing publicly, another thing in closets.

But there is a third factor in Watergate. It is not only Republicans and Democrats who have been twisted by power, but also the press, whose own hypocrisies outweigh all the others combined. The press, now congratulating itself for playing the vigilant watchdog over the affairs of governors, conveniently forgets its own spying and electronic surveillance and dubious tactics. The watchdog barks only at certain trespassers, namely Republicans and conservatives. Why did it not begin barking in 1964 when it was revealed that Senator Goldwater had been spied upon? There might at least have been an effort to trace the espionage to its source, even to the President if it had been authorized that high up. But no. No essays about public morality or excess presidential power then. And yet, was such spying by the incumbents any less nefarious than the spying by GOP incumbents? The press also had a chance to howl for the head of Lyndon Johnson in the Baker affair—*Life* had even detailed the evidence of the unseemly growth of Johnson's wealth in office. That surely ought to have sent the press into a spree of digging and moralizing, with scores of bloodhound reporters on the case. Camelot, too, had its

unsavory aspects which might have occasioned some hard digging by the press. The Robert Kennedy Justice Department had been turned into a giant political force, but where were the watchdogs? Eating at Camelot's table! One senses the hypocrisy of it all, even if the press is quite blind to the disorders in its own house.

In one sense, Watergate is the *creation* of the press. Without its *a priori* hostility to Richard Nixon, Republicans, and all who are right of center, without its lust for *machismo*, its eagerness to commit regicide—Watergate would not have been blown into such unusual proportions. It would have glided by, even as Democratic scandals of comparable venality glided by previously. None of this exonorates the Republicans, of course: rather, the point is that Watergate is a conscious, selective effort to redress the American political balance leftward, after its rightist drift. Thus one can take the self-congratulations of the press these days with more than a grain of salt.

But there remains the problem of watching the watchdogs. It is common knowledge among journalists that some reporters love to spy; that some are unabashed Jack Anderson types. Like the Nixonians who spied for political virtue, the press spies to uphold the public virtue. A couple of years ago, when I was a journalist in Montana, I attended a meeting under news management auspices in which our speaker was a Helena bureau chief freshly returned from a seminar at the American Press Institute on investigative reporting. The prestigious API, at Columbia University, stands in relation to American journalism approximately as Mount Sinai stood to the Jews—it is the source of the Word, the Law, and the Prophets. Our speaker discussed what he had learned in New York about investigative reporting, which is often a euphemism for such deep digging tactics as espionage, bullying information out of people, buying information—and electronic spying. Among the participants at the API seminar, according to our speaker, were a couple of *Life* reporters who instructed the group on the uses of electronic spying, and discussed pridefully their successful use of bugs to supply the material for several exposé type stories in the magazine. Our speaker named several such stories, and noted that at the API seminar there had been little malaise about such illegal activity, because it helped newsmen fulfill their watchdog function. In fact, he reported, some had felt that bugs were a positive good, and a vital investigating tool. Now of course, all this is hearsay, but I have no reason to doubt the truth of it, especially when the speaker was waving an issue of *Life* containing, he said, a story acquired by illegal bugging. The response among my colleagues was equally enthused; indeed, I was nearly the only one there who felt that the end did not justify such nefarious means.

At that paper I had already waged my struggle against spying. Earlier, as a reporter, I had been assigned by an intensely liberal city editor to spy on some Republican politicians. I was to slip into the hotel where they were meeting, and listen to their campaign plans while hiding behind an accordion-like plastic room divider. I found an excuse not to do so, and a young lady was sent in my stead. She duly recorded the plans, which it turned out were not as damaging as the city editor had hoped, and their publication occasioned great glee in that newsroom. That sort of mindless joy in snooping can be easily discovered in most of the nation's newsrooms, where press ethics are honored in the breach.

So we are entitled to ask whether the press' opposition to electronic spying is principled. If it is true that *Life* reporters bugged sources illegally, would the gentlemen of the press agree that such reporters should get the same twenty to thirty-five year sentences meted out to the Watergate conspirators? One suspects, after all, that such sentences are draconian, and that one does not normally spend a quarter or a third of a lifetime in prison for a first offense of breaking and entering. But has the press respectfully pleaded with Judge Sirica for a more temperate sentence? The judge is a reasonable man, and would surely listen if a respectful request for a better justice were directed to him by the press. But the press is in a vengeful mood, and is inclined to ap-

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prove the Watergate justice. One wishes that each reporter who had similarly used bugs illegally might spend an equal time behind bars.

Cabell Phillips, in a book called *The Truman Presidency,* written in 1966, indicates that the press has been bugging its victims for a long time. On page 421 he recounts a little bugging at the 1952 Democratic convention:

"On the Sunday preceding the Monday opening of the convention, the Illinois delegation caucused in a private dining room of the Morrison Hotel in Chicago. As chairman of the delegation, Governor Stevenson pleaded earnestly with his fellow delegates neither to place his name in nomination nor to support such an action by any other delegation. . . . The assurances he had pleaded for were not given. While no final commitments were made one way or the other, it was obvious that Stevenson's name would go before the convention regardless of his wishes.

"The press had been excluded from the meeting. But the room had been 'bugged' by an enterprising radio correspondent, and a group of other reporters, clustered behind a plastic room divider behind the speaker's table, overheard the entire proceedings. Even before the caucus broke up, news wires across the country were crackling with speculations 'on the highest and most unimpeachable authority' that Adlai Stevenson's name would be put in nomination and he would not block it."

Note Phillips' use of the adjective "enterprising" in describing this sort of buggery. That is the highest encomium normally paid to newsmen: the want ads in the trade publication, *Editor and Publisher,* bristle with requests for *enterprising* reporters and editors. Phillips, writing in 1966 when the bugging issue had been well aired, chose to use tacit praise rather than condemnation of such tactics. One wonders whether he would also tacitly praise the Watergate conspirators. It is noteworthy, also, that this press bugging was not employed to rout out malefactors or improve the public weal, but was used purely to satisfy a lascivious curiosity.

The sad thing is that such illegal activity by the press will eventually cause some grand juries to begin an investigation of invasions of privacy by the news media, and the result may well by a curtailment of our first amendment liberties. Watergate is a beast with a lashing tail, a tail that may well strike Democrats and the press.

It is uncertain what the future may bring. There may well be a drastic change in our political structure once the dust settles, including the possibility of multiparty politics if the two main parties die or decline from a lack of funds and trust. But all that is conjectural. For the next months, we will be treated to the accusations of three hypocritical factions, each calling the other kettles black. □

R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

Watergate: The Cartoon Revisited

There is something of the gorgeous, something almost of the voluptuous about the Watergate hearings, the Watergate conspiracy, the Watergate cover-up—the pious shrieks, the moral declarations, the newspaper revelations, the newspaper retractions, the presidential denials, the presidential clarifications, the eerie silence from certain famous Democrats who not long ago were so very windy, the occult analyses from the mountebanks of the New Age, whom history has jerked from the acute embarrassment of an unanticipated obscurity and sent squalling toward the embattled White House, a White House now silent, mysterious, and pathetic. Yahoo! This is political pageantry unsurpassed by mortal man since the dawn of democracy.

Indeed, it is the most colossal orgy ever thrown. The stage sags beneath mounds of grappling limbs and sweating torsos, tortured visages and faces blossoming in triumph. Shattered hulks of humanity stumble about in the company of grinning clowns and the audience wheezes and gasps for more. The attacking politicians, the media moralists, and the keepers of public virtue are reading scripts prepared by Rabelais. Their quavering and indignant targets are more suggestive of Beckett. It is a banquet prepared by Shaw and served by Fielding. Wagner has combined with Berlioz to compose the score. No nation has ever seen anything like it. Only the American Republic contains the elements and the appetites for such gluttony, such profligacy, such statecraft. Only in America would such gaud sell.

America with its bored congeries, its moralistic tubthumpers, and its deep reservoirs of self-guilt and self-contempt is a setting divinely endowed for such a fabulous show. Our essential boredom is a veritable invitation to foolishness, and the transcendental populism of our self-anointed intelligentsia is an invitation to worse. Our great Republic is crossed with a subtle schizophrenia, rendering us severe wowsers one moment and voluptuaries the next. No doubt you will be relieved to hear that a thorough diagnosis of the origins of this complicated condition is beyond my expertise or interest. Mere celebration of the ensuing whoopee is diversion enough for me.

What we have before us is a nation fraught with idiotic contradictions and full of joy. Flatulent self-promoters lurk behind every bush. Extravaganzas and zaniness are everywhere. In America, liberals are reactionaries and reactionaries are liberals. In America, the distribution of news is a labor of tycoons and a spectacle combining the art of burlesque with the art of a down home revival.

America was the first nation on earth to disfigure itself with franchised parodies of the good life. America was the first nation to make education a national right and then an impossibility. The American university is the product of the working man's taxes and the sanctuary for the anti-intellectual's indulgences. It is in America that oily moralists roar for pornography, gentle humanists demand subsidized abortions, scientists revile science and businessmen denounce business—and no one suffers the consequences of his foolishness. Indeed most come off with a handsome profit.

Politicians act like clerics and clerics act like politicians. The list of absurdities runs interminably, and what catalyzes the whole gorgeous spectacle is that in America there is little sense of prudence, moderation, dignity, or decorum. America had to have a Watergate. It is the denouement of America's lust for the lurid and the calamitous.

Now admittedly some Americans have found the pageantry of Watergate revolting and burdensome. It is with relief that they flee to their country clubs or to their taverns. They breathe easier in their baseball parks or before idiot boxes tuned to roller derby, professional wrestling, or "The Johnny Carson Show." Admirably they have complained to the networks about the Watergate telecasts, demanding that they be replaced by more seemly programs like "Search for Tomorrow" and the "Who, What, or Where Game."

But Watergate was not meant for them anyway. Watergate is bread and circuses for an even lower species of *Americano. Watergate is for card-carry*ing members of the enlightenment mob, those highly cultivated minds whose cultural tastes are bootlegged from Europe, whose politics are imported from Latin America, and whose manners are untouched relicts from the religious wars. These hinds are drawn to the pageantry of Watergate by the same kind of ineffable and unyielding attraction that draws lawyers to automobile accidents and to family brawls. It is powerful and prodigious medicine. It tantalizes the cosmopolitan Americans' appetites for luridity and calamity.

The sight of Nixonian Bright Boys revealing their intimacies before a graven panel of flyblown solons fascinates them. The vacuous speculations of John Chancellor thrill them. And old hound dog Ervin's hayseed eloquence draws them ever closer to their boob tubes, deluding them into dreaming that they

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are partaking in another historical goings-on. It is but the latest edition of the miracles of television. Only Americans would think of combining the serious business of a cat house with that of a confessional box and put it on television. The pageantry of Watergate has even transcended the political conventions. It is a breakthrough in dreadfulness.

And when I posit my theory that Americans lust for the lurid and the calamitous, I am not confecting a mere literary flourish. I am presenting an axiom that is the only satisfactory explanation I can lay hands on for our tin pot *cognoscenti*'s repulsive and moronic enthusiasms. How else can one explain the continued popularity of Philip Roth and Norman Mailer or the existence of intellectualoids like Tom Wicker and Nicholas von Hoffman? How else can one explain the celebrity of the unreadable *New York Review of Books*, unitarianism, astrology in high places, health foods, eastern gurus, and reform politics? This vulgar appetite was noted by Mark Twain years ago. It explains such enduring American abominations as Hollywood, which has crippled America's legitimate theatre for years. It explains why the American Shakespeare, Norman Mailer, devoted himself to a blowzy biography of Marilyn Monroe. And it explains why this potboiler will eventually be reviewed with steamy superlatives by all the journals of *haute culture* in America. The fundamental American craving for what is lurid and calamitous ensures that when you scratch the average American intellectual you generally discover a slob. Let them glamorize their enthusiasms as "radical" or "progressive" or "advanced" or "liberal"; in days of yore they were more accurately put down as simply uncouth.

Naturally, this indelicate appetite influences our politics also. The McGovern campaign was not only a campaign for bad judgment, it was a crusade for tastelessness. The great McGoo was not only a low-grade populist, he was an egregious charlatan, who did everything trashy but campaign in cancer wards. And his slob audience is still mystified as to why the rest of the American electorate judged him below the salt. To them he was the dream candidate of the century, Bryan without the Holy Spirit. For they can only apprehend life when it is painted in blacks, reds, purples, and shocking pinks. Life must always be a revelation of incredible treacheries and heinous schemes. Nefarious designs rattle behind the most innocent facades, and foreign policy is decided by witches and goblins. Twelve Swiss bankers control the world!

So on the evening of June 17, 1972, when the lights went on at Watergate, multitudes of expectant Americans knew something stupendous was in the air. What surprises me is not that their lurid speculations were so accurate, but that their accompanying observations were so superbly hypocritical! After all, infantile skulduggery like the Watergate caper has been part of the normative politics of Washington for the past dozen or so years. In 1964 Barry Goldwater's telephones, unbeknownst to him, were transmitting messages all over the globe. His campaign was thoroughly infiltrated by Johnson's agents. Yet at the time, such technological achievements were viewed not only as manifestations of the Democrats' superior political wisdom but also of their virtue. God was on their side, and so much for old Barry.

Every president since John F. Kennedy has viewed himself as a Sun King, and every president since Mr. Kennedy has run his executive branch like a bureaucratized Tammany Hall. When Mr. Kennedy used the threat of IRS investigations against independent-minded steel producers, all the divines of progressive politics hailed his vision. This was presidential power exercised for the commonweal. For decades ritualistic liberals have prescribed centralization of power in the White House, and since Franklin Roosevelt they have praised forceful presidents for shady statecraft.

The current Great Awakening amongst them would impress me more deeply if I did not know that their chosen candidate for the presidency is a man who allowed an erstwhile lady companion to soak in the waters of Chappaquidick for a dozen or so hours. What is more, many of these hinds spent the golden years of the sixties extolling violent idealists, vulgar rhetoricians, and lawless demonstrators for selected acts of illegality meant to intimidate society and provoke government. They were furiously impatient with those prissy intellects who warned of the consequences of such primitive behavior. All that ever troubled them was some vaguely limned backlash that they expected to see marching out of Indiana or Iowa under the banner of apple pie or the Farm Bureau.

Well, the reaction did not come out of the Heartland, but rather out of the progressive East, and it came from a much provoked government whose strong executive used the same kind of tactics Johnson and Kennedy had used to cow their less virtuous opponents. It operated in the same atmosphere of malversation that allowed Johnson, Bobby Baker, Billie Sol Estes, and a cast of thousands to get out of town with everything but the Washington Monument. And it was done under the administration of a man who saw his first run at the White House publicly stolen from him in 1960 by Mayor Daley and Lyndon Johnson. So all the highfalutin piety that has become so infectious amongst the enlightenment mob merely adds to the many lurid visions that arise from the capitol of the great American republic during these golden days.

But it is not only the luridities that fascinate the American audience, it is the calamitous-crashing edifices, clouds of dust, and the faint sense that somewhere bodies are writhing and organisms are dying. That is what the enlightenment mob wants; it wants calamity, in full view from its armchairs.

Contrary to regnant myth, it is not so much a desire to implement what is new and progressive that characterizes the enlightenment mob, as a mania to scotch what is old. This mob of misperceived neomaniacs is forever destroying and disrupting established customs and institutions, because its members suspect them all as being the creations of superior men and because it is always easier for a second-rater to flummox the works than to chisel out some substantial achievement. Progress is not their goal, but rather the satisfaction and celebrity that comes from making a commotion—frankly stated, they like to bust things up. A life spent in progressive reform is more often than not a life spent overturning garbage cans and stoning alley cats.

Today in Washington, destruction is in the air. Though the enlightenment mob talks about reforming our politics and unveiling the truth for all the world to see, their real accomplishment is the destruction of the modern American presidency first embodied by Franklin

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Roosevelt and recently prescribed by the likes of James MacGregor Burns, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., John Galbraith, and other horrified spectators of the Nixon White House. Though contemporary American political etiquette, liberal interest-group politics, the Nixon Administration, and the reputations of countless administrators and politicians are being disfigured, the worthies of the Ervin committee are no closer to knowing the truth today than they are to understanding the evil. And despite all their talk of a better tomorrow, not one participant in the Watergate pageant has suggested a philosophy of government to replace the amalgam of notions they have all so furiously fallen upon.

Of course no intelligent observer expects a better tomorrow; it is unthinkable that any man is going to advance any lasting improvement in a system of laws without first possessing some coherent philosophy of government, and what passes for a philosophy of government amongst the participants of the Watergate pageant is indistinguishable from the razzle-dazzle *réchauffé* of the public relations hack. If Watergate has proven nothing else, it has proven that the greatest democracy on earth is presently in the hands of public relations men, ambulance chasers, and porch climbers. If such a mob had descended on Philadelphia in 1785 to initiate our first American government, James Madison would have thrown in with the Redcoats, Patrick Henry would have bound himself over to the benevolence of crazy George, and General Washington would have burned Philadelphia to the ground.

It is a spectacle of extraordinary excess. The media mullahs, the ritualistic liberals, the bright boys of the Nixonian Era and the Senate's sages are all sweating and groaning in an enormous Gordian knot of humanity, straining to destroy each other and doing a pretty formidable job of self-destruction. Watergate is one of those rare historical episodes where not one of the participants distinguishes himself, not even a vagrant wit. The state overflows with blood and gore. It is America's equivalent to the Cultural Revolution. □

Duke J. Armstrong

A View of Child Development

In recent years the hue and cry has been raised for a national child development program by a plethora of liberal social workers and educators. The program would squarely put Washington into the business of raising the nation's children through federally funded and operated child care centers. If it is true, as we have so often been told, that the hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world, it should give us pause to reflect on the prospect of a single hand in Washington rocking cradles across the country.

The program, so the advocates state, promises to solve a host of individual and social problems which plague contemporary American society—from juvenile delinquency through mental illness and tooth decay. Yet, lurking behind all these glittering promises lies a number of fundamental, philosophical issues raised by a massive federal program of this nature. And these issues have not been adequately discussed. Debate on the program has suffered from what columnist James J. Kilpatrick has described as the "Phenomenon of the Vanishing Threshold." That is, controversy over the program has centered not around the threshold question of whether or not the United States should have a national child development program, but rather on the routine bureaucratic questions such as how much it will cost, how it will be administered, what delivery system will be used, and whose children will use it. Somehow the threshold vanished leaving only methodology to argue. Considering the importance to future generations of the establishment of a child development program, this is a tragic omission. That a change of such massive proportions is contemplated points out the imminent need to debate that threshold question, to analyze the root assumptions behind the new child development concept, and to consider the grave legal and social implications for American society.

As their strategy, child development advocates chose the old-line liberal tactic, successful since the 1930s, of *ex nihilo* manufacturing a right and then pressing the federal government to guarantee it (through expenditure of vast sums of money and use of legal sanctions). Thus in the last few years a new "inalienable right" has emerged from the copious and redundant child development rhetoric (Tom Jefferson negligently omitted it from the Declaration of Independence). Perhaps the most striking example (and never mind the infeasibility) comes from the final report of the Joint Commission on Mental Health of Children (Fall, 1969) wherein the Commission states that among other rights, the infant has the "right to continuous loving care." (Yes, and supposedly each American adult has the *right* to a happy married life. Should the federal government subsidize miracle computer dating and marriage programs?)*

The sanctioning by the state of a vague "right to happiness" of this nature holds explosive legal implications. Who exactly possesses this right? May the parent assert it for the child against the government? May the child assert it against the parent and the government? May the government assert it for the child against the parent? These questions are of no small judicial concern in a free society. Yet, these questions have never been raised, much less answered, in the present controversy. No one seems concerned about the threat explicit in a program built on such an ambiguous foundation. Child development proponents have made only one thing perfectly clear: they desire to take a long stride down the path toward standardized federal programs governing the development of American children.

If the child care program were merely to be another in a long line of absurd social services dished out by HEW and doomed to a bureaucratic fate, one could perfunctorily remonstrate those responsible for the waste of federal revenues, and then proceed to ignore the monstrosity. The child development program is, however, of a very different kind from all that has gone before. Over the course of the last forty years Americans have seen increasing government involvement in their lives. Washington has, to a greater or lesser extent, undertaken a role in determining how we are housed, how we are clothed, how we eat, how many cigarettes we consume, and so forth. But this is the first time it has set a hand to the task of determining what kind of people we are.

Granted, all government programs have an indirect effect upon the character of those subjected to them, yet this still marks an ominous beginning for the involvement of the U.S. government in drawing guidelines for the personalities of U.S. citizens. The concept advocates the turning of government from its proper bailiwick of regulation of the extrinsic conduct of its citizens to the regulation of their intrinsic nature. The social implications of such a program are manifest.

First is the obvious detrimental effect upon the family institution—the basic unit of social organization in society. The family group as a basic social institution is very nearly universal. It has survived, virtually intact, since antiquity in a myriad of societies as the basic living arrangement, with primary responsibility for meeting the requirements of its component members for food, shelter, recreation, and what we now must call child development.

Proponents of the child care program argue that they wish only to supplement the family institution and not supplant it. Yet their actions belie another motive. They propose more than mere advice and counsel; they propose the creation of a force paramount to the family and advocate direct federal involvement in the growth and training of American infants through providing a full panoply of services. The entire concept builds upon the basic and false postulate that banks of computers and batteries of trained technicians and "experts" can somehow substitute for the traditional family institution. To tamper with that

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institution (of such hardihood and proven worth) is to invite social chaos—to rend the delicate fabric which weaves a society together. Child development advocates propose to wreak just such havoc with American society.

A second social implication of child care programs is the substantial effect they will have upon the children involved. Healthy human development is related to many interwoven factors—biological, social, emotional, and intellectual—and is largely shaped by the events which occur from the time of conception until the age of two. It is in these early years that the child is the most flexible (and the most vulnerable to programming). By the age of two the infant is very actively looking for models, and help in dealing with aggressive feelings such as hurting, hostility, as well as violent ways of creating movement in other people. One need hardly subscribe to the doctrine that a child is nothing more than a product of his environment to concede that any individual or program in prolonged contact with the child during his first formative years will be a substantial factor determining the type of adult that child becomes.

Proponents of child care centers argue that, yes, indeed, the program will have a substantial effect upon the infant—and it will be a positive one. With a young, flexible child, needed remedial services will prove faster and easier. Mistakes parents would have made can be avoided with a host of trained psychiatrists, dietitians, pediatricians, educators, and the like.

But such communal and sterile child rearing could have devastating effects upon the infant. Research indicates that early entrance to school does result in lower achievement throughout the grades when compared with the achievement of later entrants with similar abilities. (See Joseph W. Halliwell, "Reviewing the Reviews on Entrance Age and School Success," in *Reading in Educational Psychology*, Victor H. and Rachel P. Noll, eds., 2nd ed. [New York: Macmillan, 1968], p.65.) There is simply no good substitute for a mother's presence. The finest and most elaborate day care center in the world can not begin to compete in this regard with even the average mother. As Dr. Raskin, director of the Children's Orthopedic Hospital Psychiatry Service in Seattle, Washington, stated: "Give a child two or three years of love, and he's going to make it in life. It is the erratic early years that cause future problems." A child's self-control, learning abilities, and cooperation are by-products of the emotional stability that come from being loved and needed. Child care personnel can never provide that essential component in the child's life. And the cold, mechanical efficiency of child development centers will serve but to fold, spindle, and mutilate the lives of thousands of American children.

A third social implication is the effect of "growing" thousands of individual children from thousands of individual families under identical hothouse conditions. A progressive society relies upon its varied components. Any tendency to reduce human variety reduces the amount of experimentation in the conduct of human affairs, which in turn slows progress and decreases the interest that life holds. Child care advocates argue that each center will remain locally controlled by community policy-making boards made up of parents and neighbors and thus each will be unique. Yet they ignore the painful lesson recent history teaches us: vast federal programs have an instinctive tendency toward uniformity. The executive branch in carrying out an ambitious new program created by the Congress finds it necessary to set guidelines, draw up directives, and write statutes in order to deal with this vast new grant of power. An awesome bureaucratic machinery inevitably arises, crushing any lingering elements of creativity or uniqueness or eccentricity. No one will stop the standardization of a chain of child care centers from coast to coast.

Even on the local level, necessity dictates that participating parents will relie heavily upon the judgemnt of the "experts" who administer the program. Their recommendation will stand as the rule. Meetings of the community policy-making board will become little more than wrangles over trivial financial matters such as whether or not to install a new sink in the kitchen. And all the while the machine will grind on, stamping out its products from a common mold and programming them with identical data.

Assuredly the concept of child development holds serious legal and social implications for the future of a free society in this country. Indeed, within the concept is the culmination of two of the most disturbing trends of twentieth century America: the achievement of a totally equalitarian society where each member harks from a common background, holds the same ideas, and has identical thinking patterns; and, the complete and final submission to the imperatives of a science-centered age where every aspect of human life is monitored and controlled by specialists, technicians, and computers. Hopefully it shall not be America's destiny to discover that brave new world.

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*Since writing this parenthetical remark I have been apprised of a proposed program of divorce insurance, to be taken out immediately before or after marriage. The idea attempts to governmentally "insure" a happy married life—or, more precisely, to "insure" against an unhappy divorced life. Thus, ironically enough, my remark (which I intended as purely absurd and rhetorical) is actually being considered by certain feminists, lawyers, and legislators.

Peter Hughes

Wall No Barrier to Memories...

August 13, 1973, marks the twelfth anniversary of the construction of the Berlin Wall. It stands as a monument to the Cold War.

"The times they are a-changing," go the words of a Bob Dylan song. And indeed they are. It is said that we are in the midst of an era of entente, detente, and cooperation among the world's major powers, a period which is expected to bear the threshold of a new era.

What indications do we have that there is more hospitable sentiment between the powers of East and West? Well, for one thing, when East German refugees recently attempted to scale the Berlin Wall and escape to the West, there was an uproar of public opinion in West Berlin over the "alleged" shootings. East Germany's Pankow regime promptly responded by putting the "criminals" (those attempting to escape) on national television to refute the insidious capitalistic slurs. Not to let events stand with that, they then expelled one of the "criminals."

The times they are indeed a-changing if the East German government found it necessary to justify its actions on national television. (The television waves in both countries are strong enough to be received on either side of the border.) But the continued shootings at the Berlin Wall; the barbed wire and brick walls; the watchtowers and concrete dugouts with armed guards, dogs, and military vehicles; the field mines and miles of no man's land between East and West Germany; these are hardly monuments to peace, cooperation, and freedom of travel and thought between East and West.

I lived in Berlin for many years, and I was there on that fateful August 13, 1961, when the Berlin Wall was first erected. It is a travesty of politics that the lives of individual persons are so often overshadowed by the general course of history. But on that night of August 13 the erection of the Berlin Wall became a very real and personal experience for me when a young woman arrived at our doorstep with the proverbial child in arms.

Like so many other people living in the city of West Berlin (one-fourth of the city's 2.2 million population came as refugees from the Soviet occupied terri-

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tory) this young friend of the family lived and worked in West Berlin while her daughter lived with her parents in the East. This young woman happened to be at the border separating the Russian and American sectors that night and saw that it was unusually active for 4 A.M. Light armored trucks and East German troops were guarding workers busily erecting wire fences and fortifications. Although she was unable to grasp the situation fully, it was with increasing apprehension that our friend realized that if she were to act and bring her daughter to the West, her last opportunity had arrived. At eight o'clock that morning she and her daughter arrived at our apartment. As the family later learned, this couple had been two of the last people to gain access to the West, two of the fortunate few who had been able to analyze the situation, weigh its alternatives, and act decisively.

Today that access is sealed more than ever. Where once tens of thousands fled, now only hundreds succeed and many more die or get caught in the attempt. The Wall has accomplished its end. The East German regime, carefully manipulated from Moscow, in an attempt to forestall the further depletion of its population (one-fifth of East Germany's population had fled the country before the Wall was erected), has created an almost insurmountable barrier which runs through the heart of Berlin and which isolates the country from its western borders. The Wall separates Germans from Germans, parents from children, lovers from lovers, and friends from friends. The attraction of freedom has been countered by imprisonment. What prevents a more humane solution to the problem of Berlin is the unfortunate fact that the city's crisis remains the core and symbol of the East-West confrontation. Whereas East Berlin is claimed as the capital of the German Democratic Republic, West Berlin has become "inextricably" linked with the Federal Republic of Germany; the city has, consequently, become a pawn for great power endeavors.

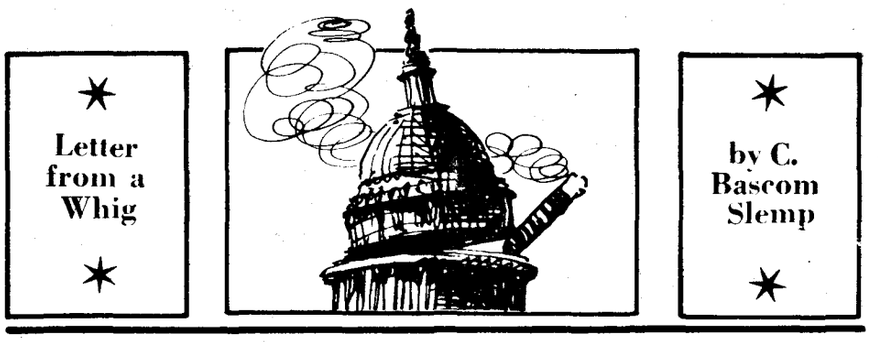
Federal Republic Chancellor Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik* has made numerous concessions to the Pankow regime in an attempt to promote conciliation between the two Germanies. The West German government has recognized the concept of two German states within one nation. Both Germanies are expected to be admitted to the United Nations shortly and a flurry of diplomatic recognitions can be expected to follow. But the integrity of West Berlin is no more secure. To the contrary, the Soviets and East Germans have painstakingly avoided any formal recognition of West Berlin's ties to the Federal Republic. And, for the Berliners at least, a general conciliation appears to be as far away as ever.

The present calm in Germany is often mistaken for apathy; it is not. It is rather a helpless acceptance of reality. *Letters From the German Democratic Republic*, edited by the reputable philologian Hildegard Baumgard, reveals no great enthusiasm for the prevailing Pankow regime in East Germany, nor does it reveal disfavor. East German attitudes toward West Germany often seem balanced between admiration and dogmatic opposition. However, when West German Chancellor Brandt visited East Germany a couple of years ago the spontaneous and enthusiastic response he received (which proved an embarrassment to the East German government) proved that emotion and fervor are not far below the surface. In any event, the Wall remains and as one young East Berliner said, "perhaps Ulbricht [who was then East Germany's head of state] will realize that the Wall by virtue of its existence has become a fascinating lure to what is beyond."

Berlin is a city of great vitality—not at all because it has become a focus for global political tensions—but because culture blossoms and industry grows. No city has the greenery and waterways of Berlin, nor its memorable night life. Still, Berlin's future is closely linked to its political expectations, and so unfortunately all activities in the city are associated with politics. Isolation, of course, means insecurity. A sudden glance at the Wall always brings back the presence of the unrelieved East-West struggle.

No great change can be seen within the immediate future. The question of this city is not being settled as part of the German problem and within the general East-West "rapprochement". Some fear, therefore, that the ultimate solution for West Berlin will have to transcend historical ties to the West. Its fate arouses a sadness in all those who cherish the aura of the city. Indeed, the Wall may have severed with irretrievable finality those last threads joining together the two Germanys. But the memories of what was, remain—and so do the reality of what is and the longing for what could be. It is with no slight effort that the Berliner can still say:

Berlin bleibt doch Berlin (Berlin will always remain Berlin).



The Washington Scene August 1973

(WASHINGTON)—Our nation's capital prides itself in being the country's political opinion leader. And little wonder! Washington, D.C. is the home of that award-winning perlustration, that monument to advocacy journalism—the *Washington Post*. But the *Washington Post* notwithstanding, there has been more to political happenings in Washington in recent months than the Watergate Hearings.

CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS?

From the beginning of the Ninety-third Congress in January to its summer adjournment in August, social pundits have spoken of one constitutional crisis after another. In January the so-called crisis arose over the President's impoundment of federal funds. More recently the constitutional crisis has been tied to Watergate, and particularly the Administration's refusal to release, to Senator Ervin's Watergate committee, the White House tapes of telephone conversations. Yet despite what has been termed an erosion of presidential power on Capitol Hill, despite the fact that public opinion polls show that the President's popularity is at an all-time low, Congress has once again shown itself incapable of filling any power vacuum or displaying any leadership potential.

To date not one of the President's four vetoes (The Consolidated Farm and Rural Development Act, The Second Supplemental Appropriations, The Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and Congress' attempt to make the Director of the Office of Management and Budget subject to Senate confirmation) has been overridden. Much of the difficulty in overriding a veto undoubtedly lies with the technical requirement of a two-thirds majority in both houses. Nonetheless, the Administration still proves itself a force to be reckoned with.

The White House faced what was considered certain defeat when Congress threatened to cut off funds for Cambodia and finally inserted such a cut-off as an amendment to H.R. 7447, the Supplemental Appropriations bill. The amendment passed the House by a wide margin (244 to 172), amidst the cajoling, whistling, backslapping, and singing of glory hallelujah by those who supported the amendment. The House also has a new electronic voting system which permits the House membership and gallery spectators to see how much time is left on a given vote. As the seconds ticked away our country's leadership began a

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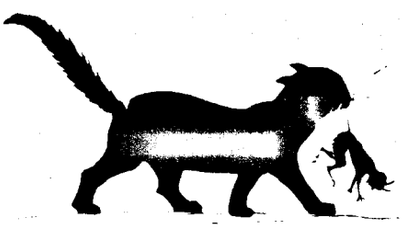
countdown and cheer (none of which is recorded in the *Congressional Record*) in anticipation of the Administration's defeat. It was a spectacle which would have made any football team proud. But when the White House and Congress later reached a compromise cut-off date (August 15) for the Cambodia affair, the Congress demonstrated once again that it could not ignore the political prerogative of the executive.

POWER STALEMATE

Even if the power of the White House has not been stalemated to the extent to which many argue, there can be no doubt that the Administration's efforts for reconciliation with Congress' liberal leadership is raising qualms among some conservative legislators. One of the more tragic episodes has occurred in the Office of Economic Opportunity. Former Acting Director of OEO, Howie Phillips, had been given the assignment to dismantle this scandal-ridden agency. The dismantlement had been heralded as the first major step in returning power and jurisdiction to the states, but it had also been opposed by the liberal establishment which viewed the effort as a threat to its position. Phillips was forced out of his directorship after certain welfare rights groups and leading Senate liberals had taken their case to the courts and it was ruled that Phillips (who had not been confirmed by the Senate) was holding his position illegally. The Administration decided not to fight the issue. Phillips resigned as the center of controversy and a man under his tutelage, Alvin Arnett, was chosen to replace him. But Arnett, who had lived off the conservative movement for many years, not only dissociated himself from his former mentors, but very comfortably aligned himself with the Senate liberals who hold the power over his confirmation. Arnett reneged on his commitments, and blocked the intended appointment of J. Alan McKay as head of the Legal Services Office when he pushed instead for Dan Bradley. Bradley has long supported radical legal service groups and is a disciple of what *New York Times*' columnist and former Nixon speechwriter William Safire has called the epitome of radical chic, Terry Lenzer, who had been fired from OEO by Donald Rumsfeld for failure to carry out orders. Lenzer had refused to discontinue funding with federal money radical groups like SDS and the Black Panthers, groups which were intent upon destroying the very political structure which was supporting their activities. Lenzer went on to defend Philip Berrigan and he is now a counsel to Senator Ervin's Watergate committee. A last minute congressional effort undertaken during the congressional recess to defeat the Bradley appointment was successful, but there is little chance in preventing the appointment of Arnett. Here at least is one incident where Watergate has taken its toll.

The Administration's phase III and IV economic programs also appear to have come in direct response to Democratic congressional pressures. This economic program promises to be the disaster (both domestically and internationally) every major economist prophesized it would be. It holds hope only insofar as there is evidence that the current program will lead to the removal of government wage-price controls. The White House is also returning to the old position that the only way the cost of living can be held down is to hold down the cost of government. But, as one congressional newsletter recently charged, this attitude is not widely shared by Congress: "Too many public officials seem to forget that the so-called Federal money they dispense is in fact the taxpayers' money; many Congressmen seem to exercise less caution and consideration in voting for a billion dollar Federal program than they would in purchasing a house or an automobile with their own money."

Congressional propensity to spend, irrespective of any other consideration, was illustrated in the appropriations battle over the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities. Congressman Jack Kemp of New York, whose 38th District includes Buffalo and that city's highly regarded Philharmonic orchestra, led the successful battle in reducing appropriations from $145 million to $98.6 million for the National Arts and Humanities Foundation. Kemp's political savvy was critically questioned. But



a letter Kemp received from the Director of the Buffalo Philharmonic, who also happens to be the Director of the Albright-Knox Art Gallery, speaks for itself: "I am vitally interested in these two [the Buffalo Philharmonic and the Albright-Knox Art Gallery] professional organizations and I believe that they all require governmental support. However, you are quite right in your plea for priorities and unless we get the federal budget in order pretty soon it won't make much difference what happens to the arts or other things as well."

THE 93RD FRESHMAN CLASS

The Watergate Affair has also awakened a new interest in public opinion polls. A June Gallup Poll indicated that if congressional elections were held today the GOP would lose more House seats than usual for the party occupying the White House (the average has been 29) Stan Evans, the Chairman of the American Conservative Union, has consequently argued that if the Republican and conservative candidates are to survive, they will have to cut their ties to the White House and take the initiative on issues like federal spending and taxes.

Any anti-Republican sentiment, if it is to prevail, would be particularly detrimental for the forty-three member GOP freshman class, since the first reelection bid is thought to be the most difficult by political experts. A loss of practically any one of these freshmen would be considered regrettable by conservative Washington commentators, who point out that seldom has a group of congressional first-termers shown the leadership, political savoir-faire, and commitment to conservative issues as the ninety-third freshman class. Using the American Conservative Union's index of Key Votes, this freshman class has voted as a group, with only four or five exceptions out of the forty-three member body.

One freshman who has ignored the usual rules of seniority is Tennessee's Robin Beard. Beard has introduced a discharge petition in this session of Congress for his bill which would prohibit forced busing for schools operating on an open-system basis. A discharge petition, a parliamentary procedure which is rarely used, requires the signatures of a majority of the total House (defined as 218) and it removes a committee from the jurisdiction of a public bill. It is a practice which is implemented when a hostile committee drags its feet on legislation by either refusing to hold hearings on the subject or by failing to let the bill reach the floor for a House vote. Maryland Congressman Larry Hogan has introduced a similar petition for his "right to life" legislation. The signatures of those members who have signed are not made public until the requisite number have signed the petition. Thus it would seem that the public will never know where their representatives stand on these two issues. And it is even more amazing how few people know that these two discharge petitions have been introduced.

VEEP UNDER SCRUTINY

With no Watergate hearings to fill its pages during the August recess, the *Washington Post* has become the forum, the trial, and the jury for the alleged kickbacks which have resulted in a federal investigation of the Vice-President's political career in Maryland. As the Vice-President pointed out in a news conference he called, he has not been given the traditional safeguards of secrecy normally accorded under such proceedings. The *Washington Post* has not only reported what the Vice-President called "damned lies," but it has used what are at least innuendos, dubious aspersions, and targeted leaks by those who stand to gain from them, as the basis for discussing whether or not the Vice-President must be impeached before being indicted. An amazing jump in events, considering the Vice-President has not been indicted and there is yet no evidence to indicate that he will be.

If we are to believe the *Washington Post*'s advocate journalists, it will only be a matter of months before the President and Vice-President resign. All rumors to the contrary, the *Washington Post* denies that it has been a long-time supporter of House Speaker Carl Albert!

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"Queer-Baiting..." Reconsidered

In February of 1973 The Alternative *featured two essays in its "PERSPECTIVES" forum on homosexuality and the significance of the family. Each was independently written. David Brudnoy in "Queer-Baiting for Faith, Fun, and Profit" presented the case against age-old social and legal proscription of homosexuality. Gary North in "The Perseverence of the Family" outlined the importance of the family in western tradition, and mentioned toleration of homosexuality as an attendant danger to familial ties.*

Over the following months we noticed an unusually impassioned response to Brudnoy's side of PERSPECTIVES—some readers reacting favorably, some unfavorably. Due to such interest, we have decided to publish in this issue two reasonably erudite refutations of Brudnoy's essay, one written by John Randolph, the other by E.T. Veal. It should be noted that the writer of the first article is an associate to a public official. He writes under the name "John Randolph" to avoid confusing his views with those of his employer.

These two replies are followed in turn by an answer from David Brudnoy himself.

John Randolph: "Say It Ain't So, Dave"

I have a friend who is an alcoholic. He has one of the best minds I have encountered; he is charming, kindhearted, and the best of company. Indeed, drink seems to bring out the best in him, the sort of stream-of-consciousness, slap-on-the-back good fellowship which is perhaps most appealing to those of us to whom it doesn't come naturally. He is one of the most dangerous people I know.

He is one of those who sings the praises of booze, who will defend it on every aesthetic and intellectual ground. And he paints such an attractive picture that if I had a fourteen-year-old son, I would do what I could to prevent him from ever meeting my witty, wonderful friend the drunk.

Because I *know* he's wrong. Because I have seen what alcohol does to people. Within their own closed system, the arguments for alcohol addiction are irrefutable: the true Bacchist believer would rather have full life than long life, would rather die from a distant cirrhosis than a nine-to-five nervous breakdown. If his addiction makes it difficult for him to function well in society, there is something wrong with society. All a matter of aesthetics. Yet somehow, I *know* my position on this is more important, more obviously right than my preference for blue over yellow.

It is in this light that one must approach David Brudnoy's article against "Queer-Baiting." Here is one of the most lucid, creative writers we have seen—and one of ours—writing a piece that starts off as a hasty prospectus for Special Seminar 101a, Gaiety and its Oppressors in Medieval Spain; that winds up as an exhortation to the "American homosexual revolution" to observe the correct strategy and tactics; that is, alas, deadly dull throughout.

The trouble with the history lesson is that Brudnoy lacks perspective. Cheek-by-jowl with sweeping truisms ("The European Middle Ages were in many ways far less grim than the designation 'Dark Ages' would have us believe . . ."),

(continued on page 14)

E. T. Veal: "Let's Be Reasonable"

In his zeal to dispel prejudices against homosexuality, David Brudnoy has adopted an unfortunate tactic. Where he might have applied reason to a highly emotional subject by demonstrating, if he could, the irrationality of antihomosexual attitudes, he has chosen instead to instill new prejudices by hurling abuse at opponents of his own position. Like those liberals who fancy that the way to end racial prejudice is to create guilt feelings in whites, Professor Brudnoy seems to think that the mistreatment of sexual deviates will end as soon as enough of *The Alternative*'s "particular readership of largely younger people" comes to associate critics of homosexuality with witch hunters, anti-Semites, the Inquisition, Joe McCarthy, the Communist Party, "unresolved sexual cravings," the God of the Old Testament, and Queen Victoria.

Almost entirely avoided is the first question that needs to be asked about any human practice, sexual or otherwise—can this practice or conduct or custom be morally justified? Until the practice has been judged, it is fatuous to judge the practitioners.

Western society has, as Professor Brudnoy laments, judged the morality of homosexual practices. As far back as we have evidence, that judgement has been unfavorable to homosexuality, although the treatment meted out to homosexual individuals has varied widely. Where the principle of *quidquid nefas, prohibeat lex* has prevailed, the life of the homosexual has often been harassed and desperate; in more libertarian climes, the law may be less harsh, though public opinion can be as coercive as legal sanctions; and even in the most "open" and "tolerant" societies, a known homosexual is likely to be about as popular and sought-after as a known cardsharp or a known alcoholic.

Professor Brudnoy has every right to oppose his judgment of the moral question to western society's. The *consensus omnium gentium* is hardly infallible, and it may well be wrong about sexual

(continued on page 14)

David Brudnoy: In Response

It is a testament to the continued antihomosexuality abroad in the land, that these letters by "John Randolph" and E.T. Veal are granted such a largish chunk of space in this magazine, in response to my article last February discussing the historical treatment of homosexuals and calling for an enlightened view. That I accept the editor's invitation to respond to their rejoinders does not indicate that either this magazine or the conservative movement in general is about to seriously reconsider their accustomed attitude. I note here, at the start, my continued allegiance to the conservative movement, especially to its libertarian strand, while asserting, once more, that the "conservative" attitude toward the matter at hand is, and will likely remain for some time yet, unconscionable. Let us speed, then, to the letters by Messrs. "Randolph" and Veal.

"Randolph" begins anecdotally, the better to let fly with the *ad hominem*. Note the implied syllogism: Since "Randolph's" friend the alcoholic is charming, and since he might charm "Randolph's" hypothetical teen-age son and lead him down the primrose path; therefore, by all means, the alcoholic friend must be kept from the company of the teen-ager. Analogy: Since Brudnoy is "lucid, creative" (etc.), and since there are young people reading Brudnoy's "Queer-Baiting. . ." piece; therefore, "Randolph" must rush to the rescue lest Brudnoy corrupt the young. It is, I fear, a failed attempt to be witty ("Randolph," that is, essays the wit) and neatly sets the whole argument off on a most unpleasant footing.

I am not surprised that "Randolph" never "thought much about homosexuality" until "Gay Liberationists and their admirers [of whom, incidentally, I am not one, except insofar as I share their desire for equality for homosexuals under the law and civilized attitudes among the citizenry] started calling it to my attention." I needn't mention the Negro civil rights movement, need I?

(continued on page 17)

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RANDOLPH

(continued from page 13)

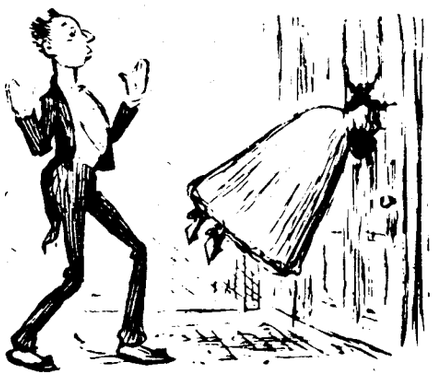
he will treat us to statistics on homosexuals burned, scourged, or sent to the galleys by various kings and queens. He compares homosexuality with heresy in such a way as to imply that the two phenomena were about equally important to the antecedent cultures of modern civilization. That's a little like saying that the second-greatest problem in America today is bigotry against Filipinos.

The theoretical portion of Brudnoy's article suffers from the same myopia: his thesis is that we repress homosexuality because we suffer from a gnawing, pervasive fear of it. Frankly, I never thought much about homosexuality one way or another until Gay Liberationists and their admirers started calling it to my attention. Looking back to my childhood, I can recall a much more vivid fear of being carried off by Martians than of becoming a queer. The only time I seriously considered the possibility was when I read somewhere, a couple of years ago, that it is normal to experience a homosexual "phase" in childhood, and that adult homosexuality may occur when one somehow skips this earlier stage. Not having enjoyed a "normal" childhood in this respect, I worried for a week or so about someday succumbing to this glandular tyranny, until distracted by more imminent concerns.

My principal quarrel with Brudnoy's article is not that he requires libertarian conservatives to endorse the legalization of homosexual relationships between consenting adults. This is an area where the state has no business proscribing, regulating, licensing, or subsidizing. But I endorse, perhaps more heartily than Mr. Brudnoy, his afterthought to the effect that this is a "peripheral" issue. It is neither a cardinal precept of conservative philosophy, nor an issue which I would care to highlight in efforts to recruit new blood into the movement. Although as a libertarian I do accept the theoretical wisdom of legalizing homosexual acts, as a practical matter I think we should divert our resources to it only after we have succeeded in de-controlling gold, guns, grass, and gambling; and shortly before the crusade to auction off the highways.

I utterly reject, however, the notion that because we defend a man's right to do as he pleases, we have any obligation to conceal our disapproval of his actions. Yet this is what Brudnoy is angling for: "not only equality under law, but in attitudes as well." He rejects the idea that homosexuality is a mental or physiological disorder, and ridicules those who take this position, carting out the old saw about Salem witch-hunters.

Those who endorse a libertarian theory of government must be prepared to answer some very tough questions about the feasibility of applying free-market policies to real, dynamic societies. The most telling argument I have encountered against libertarian polity is frequently raised by traditionalists: While there may indeed be a "free market of ideas" those qualities which make an idea popular are not necessarily the qualities inherent in truthful, beautiful, or even useful ideas. For example: were it not for the influence of church and family, few of us would believe in Hell. It's a pretty unappealing idea, and unfettered by it we could all live more liberated lives. On a free market of ideas, the concept of Hell would be sold short. But the existence or nonexistence of Hell (or of a communist conspiracy, or of the atom) has nothing to do with how many people believe in it. Nor does pure reason yield the answers: I cannot prove that Tahiti is more beautiful than Jersey City, or Bach more talented than the Monkees; but these are things I know.



Nor can I prove the superiority of the lifestyle I espouse over the one Brudnoy seems to endorse. Family life, the interrelation of love and sex and childbearing, the joyful mysteries of masculinity and femininity—these seem so natural and beautiful to me that I can't believe they are the result of mere social conditioning. I know no conclusive rebuttal to those who maintain that homosexuality is "natural" because it seems to come naturally to them: but I view homosexual tendencies in the same light as the urge to murder: something which recurs in men on occasion, for reasons unknown, which they ought to repress in themselves. Government is the proper instrument for the repression of murder, because a murderer directly deprives his victim of a fundamental right. Government ought not to prevent homosexual acts by force, insofar as they do not violate the rights which government is bound to protect. But insofar as I construe homosexuality in those around me as detracting from my enjoyment of life, it is my right to discourage homosexuality by every means, save only force, at my disposal.

Whether I choose to exercise my right to harass homosexuals depends largely on whether I feel they are threatening my own way of life. The closet queens, or the quaint inhabitants of the Fire Island colony, don't bother me, because they do not seek to proselytize. Only when they enter into my orbit, when they threaten the tendency of my society to cohere, will I retaliate.

Gay Liberation is justification; it is proselytization. I do not believe that men are perfect, and I have no doubt that there are those who can learn the art of digging out and exploiting the perversities which are latent in human nature. No doubt we will soon witness the advent of Bestial Lib, whose leaders will demand their own exotic lounges at Columbia, whose spokesmen will proclaim that you can have a "natural" relationship with a billygoat, whose armbands will declare them "Funny and Proud." I won't be able to prove them wrong, but the first time one of them writes an article in *The Alternative* demanding an end to our condescending attitude toward Funny People, I will cancel my subscription.

As for Brudnoy's picture of a "viable, cohesive society" in which homosexuals with "honest, non-aggressive pride" live side-by-side with their straight brethren, I am skeptical. Just as red-blooded boys were trying to persuade young ladies of the wisdom of Sexual Freedom long before it was formalized into a Movement, so the Gay and Proud set, even if they could shed their obnoxious political affectations, would continue to solicit for new memberships. And people like me would continue to be disgusted.

Like my friend the crusading alcoholic, Brudnoy makes an internally consistent case; and since he's one of the quickest, sharpest people I've met, I would probably enjoy a long, friendly theoretical argument with him. But the moment he tries to convince a son or a dear friend of mine of the Pride that goes with being Gay—the moment he threatens the cohesion of the world that matters to me—I shall be forced to conclude that, while I deplore the methods the Inquisitors used to purge the homosexuals who threatened their way of life, at least their hearts were in the right place. □

VEAL

(continued from page 13)

deviation. Perhaps a close examination of this subject would show that the condemnation of homosexuality is inconsistent with more basic moral premises, and that prejudices based on sexual preferences are no more rational than prejudices based on skin color.

I say, *perhaps* a close examination would come to such conclusions. Unfortunately, Professor Brudnoy conducts no examination at all. Let us consider as examples two areas where he approaches the arguments against homosexuality and both times skirts them.

(1) "The Roman Catholic Church until the late Middle Ages opposed homosexuality not only (or even primarily) because it was abnormal or unnatural, but also because it satisfied carnal lust and yielded bodily pleasure." Whereupon follows a torrent of misinformation about medieval Christian views of sex, finished off (after a digression on the ancient Greeks and Romans) with Professor Brudnoy's "guess" that "Judeo-Christian sex-suppression may result from unresolved sexual cravings."

As a grab bag of historical errors, this little excursus is marvelous. As argument—well, it *isn't* argument. Of the three reasons suggested for medieval

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Christian opposition to homosexuality, two—"it was abnormal or unnatural"—are not referred to again. The third is enlarged upon at some length, but only with a view to discovering its historical cause—"the ascetic ideal derived from Platonism, which had crept into Christianity via Saint Paul"—and subconscious motivation—"unresolved sexual cravings." All this is psychological speculation, not a logical exposure of medieval fallacies. The reader receives neither a clear account of the bases of the position that Professor Brudnoy is denouncing, nor his reasons for denouncing it.

The formal error is aggravated by a material one: Professor Brudnoy's "Middle Ages" are an imaginary epoch, and his version of Christian theology is equally imaginary. Is it true, as Professor Brudnoy asserts repeatedly, that traditional Christianity in general and the medieval Church in particular have condemned sexual activity on the ground that sex is pleasurable? If it is *not* true, Professor Brudnoy's discussion recedes even further from the realm of rational argument.

Before examining the evidence on this specific question, I should like to devote a moment to undermining the faith of any readers who may think that, because Professor Brudnoy teaches history, he must know what he is talking about when he discusses the Middle Ages. Professor Brudnoy is not a specialist in medieval European history (medieval Japan is more his place, I believe), and his wildly inaccurate generalizations suggest that he is not even a moderately well-informed amateur.

His statement that "By the tenth century, woman's subjection as a chattel-slave was virtually complete" will serve as an example. No doubt a women's liberationist would disapprove of many aspects of medieval life, but "chattel-slave" is ludicrous. Such was not even the theoretical position of women. One of the great medieval text writers states: "She was formed from the man's side, to show that she was created for his consort, lest perchance, if she had been made from his head, she should seem to be preferred above him in domination; or, if from his feet, then to be subject to him in slavery." (Peter Lombard, *Sententiae*, quoted in G.G. Coulton, *Medieval Panorama*, p. 622.)

And so little was subjection the rule in practice that the vigor and influence of women are commonplaces of medieval history and literature. Dorothy Sayers, whose credentials as a medievalist are better than either Professor Brudnoy's or mine, went so far as to declare that the role of women in the Middle Ages was greater than in modern society. (See her essay "Are Women Human?" in *Unpopular Opinions*.) This is not to say that men regarded women as fully their equals (hierarchy, not equality, was the governing idea of the age), nor to deny that some aspects of medieval belief offered a certain encouragement to misogyny. But someone who asserted that women in the Middle Ages were fully "equal" and "liberated" would come far nearer the truth than does Professor Brudnoy.

Similarly, Professor Brudnoy lumps the Middle Ages with "the centuries of witch-hunting," suggesting that the widespread and hysteria-tinged witch trials of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have a great deal in common with the infrequent medieval prosecutions (which were often political in character). In particular, the heavy emphasis upon the sexual elements of witchcraft is absent in the earlier period. Jeanne d'Arc's inquisitors wanted the details of her religious visions, where a seventeenth century prosecutor would have demanded tales of diabolic copulation.

This pair of examples will, I trust, demonstrate that Professor Brudnoy's broad historical statements are not to be trusted. Their grain of truth is smothered by chaff. Now let us consider the question initially proposed. First, as to the position of medieval theologians, C.S. Lewis provides a convenient summary in *The Allegory of Love*, pp. 14–17, which I shall follow here: "It will be seen that the medieval theory finds room for innocent sexuality: what it does not find room for is passion . . . ." Two propositions were universally agreed upon—first, that the sexual impulse, being created by God, was intrinsically good; second, that the weakness of human nature, resulting from the Fall, had disordered sexual life and involved it in certain evils.

Pleasure, however, was not one of those evils. A near approach to such a

view occurs in the *Sententiarum Summa*, attributed to Hugo of St. Victor, which contends that sexual pleasure is "evil, but not morally evil: it is . . . not a sin but the punishment of sin, and thus [the work] arrives at the baffling conception of a punishment which consists in a morally innocent pleasure." But the weightier voice of Albertus Magnus repudiates such curiosities: "He sweeps away the idea that the pleasure is evil or a result of the Fall: on the contrary, pleasure would have been greater if we had remained in Paradise."

The evil that the medieval theologians did find in sex was the sort of overmastering desire that led to *ligamentum rationis*, the cutting off of rational activity, and to the elevation of what is good above what is the First Good. Still, even this evil aspect of sex is, according to Albertus Magnus and Saint Thomas, not a moral evil; it is a misfortune, like pain or disease, not a sin. All the orthodox Christian writers of this period are agreed that the sexual act, in its proper sphere, is not only innocent, but meritorious.

The opinions which Professor Brudnoy ascribes to the Middle Ages were not orthodox Christian ones. But it is true that they were espoused—by the loathed Manichee sects that were the objects of the Albigensian Crusade. The popular connection between heresy and homosexuality, which bulks so large in Professor Brudnoy's mind, arose precisely because *the most notorious medieval heretics themselves* preached that the means of procreation were evil and that for them, to use Professor Brudnoy's words, "homosexuality [was] a convenient, if unworthy, alternative." (Cf. S. Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee*, pp. 176–177.)

Enough has been said, I trust, to show that Professor Brudnoy's first contact with the rational case against homosexuality is mishandled. He conjures up an imaginary dragon, then neglects to slay even that poor creature. But he has accomplished something. He has insinuated to his readers (of whose youth, remember, he is fully aware) that to oppose homosexuality is to associate oneself with a nefarious intellectual milieu, in which innocent pleasures are thought evil, women are reduced to chattel-slavery, witches are pursued by prurient inquisitors, and sexual eccentrics are unfairly branded with accusations of heresy. Anyone who swallows this pack of libels is likely in the future to approach the question of homosexuality with less, rather than more, reason and detachment.

(2) Later on, Professor Brudnoy appraises the views of "American psychiatric opinion, which is the brainchild of the liberal mentality," and following the views of Dr. Thomas Szasz, he lambastes the inclusion of homosexuality in the mythical category of "mental illness." Insofar as Dr. Szasz is right, Professor Brudnoy is also right. I myself know next to nothing about psychology and won't presume to evaluate the arguments. What I will do is note how this sudden turn complements Professor Brudnoy's earlier tactics. The *only* "case for heterosexuality" that he either refutes or states accurately is that of a group with whom his readers are probably predisposed to disagree. In the conservative and libertarian hierarchies of villains, liberal psychiatrists rank near the apex, an infamy well-earned by such incidents as the *Fact* magazine poll referred to by Professor Brudnoy, in which 1189 psychiatrists were willing to brand Senator Barry Goldwater, sight unseen, as a psychopath; well-earned also by years of lobbying for a system of therapeutic incarceration that expands the power of both the state and the practitioners of psychiatry.

Only this unhonored group, it is suggested through omission and silence, presents a superficially rational basis for criticizing homosexuality. By refuting them, Professor Brudnoy can give the appearance of having more to say on behalf of homosexuality than *ad ho-*

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minem assertions based on the character of its opponents. At the same time, he strengthens the recurring innuendo: antihomosexuals are birds of a feather with every manner of despicable being.

Thus does Professor Brudnoy fight prejudice with prejudice, bigotry with bigotry, injustice with injustice. One may legitimately ask: is fairness toward one group furthered by unfairness toward everybody else? Since Professor Brudnoy so studiously avoids his nominal subject, I don't know what he would say on behalf of the moral validity of homosexuality. He talks in passing of the character of homosexuals, how many "have risen high in science, government, the arts, live good lives, and so forth" and how "the homosexual population is by and large decent, even beneficial to America." At the same time, he concedes that the columns of a leading homosexual publication, the Los Angeles *Advocate*, "confirm much of what antihomosexual thinkers say."

Evidently arguments based on the character of homosexuals will get us little further than arguments based on the character of antihomosexuals. On the positive side, as on the negative, Professor Brudnoy contributes nothing toward a better understanding of his topic. Let me then conclude with a few preliminary and tentative considerations of the sort that Professor Brudnoy should have raised, either to affirm or to confute.

It would be useful, to begin with, to know what science has not yet determined: to what extent is homosexuality an innate disposition resulting from heredity or from early environmental fac-

Bentham, Burke, and QWERTY

But no name, no power, no function, no artificial institution whatsoever can make the men of whom any system of authority is composed any other than God, and nature, and education, and their habits of life have made them. Capacities beyond these the people have not to give. . . . Old establishments are tried by their effects. If the people are happy, united, wealthy, and powerful, we presume the rest. We conclude that to be good from whence good is derived. In old establishments various correctives have been found for their aberrations from theory. Indeed, they are the results of various necessities and expediencies. They are not often constructed after any theory; theories are rather drawn from them.

Edmund Burke,
Reflections on the
Revolution in France *(1790)*

Had Edmund Burke lived long enough to see the spiritual sons of Enlightenment rationalism—yes, even the "reasonable" experimental rationalism chronicled by Peter Gay's *The Enlightenment*—he would hardly have been surprised. Building a universal ethical or juridical system on the basis of a philosophic calculus would have seemed like the ultimate in human folly to Burke: "The science of constructing a commonwealth, or renovating it, or reforming it, is, like every other experimental science, not to be taught *a priori*. Nor is it a short experience that can instruct us in that practical science. . . ."

Robert Nisbet, throughout his writings, but especially in *Quest for Community*, points to this aspect of nineteenth-century conservative thought: the distrust of rational schemes of political or social reconstruction. In his *Social Change and History*, Nisbet reminds us that it is structure and permanence that provide the setting for change, and that the former categories, rather than the latter, are basic to human society. Men resist change.

I have nothing profound to add to this topic. But I did run across something quite striking recently. In a science issue of the now defunct *Saturday Review* (October, 1972), Charles Lekberg presented a peculiar bit of sociological data in an essay, "The Tyranny of Qwerty." Qwerty? Qwerty is that famous top row of letters that confronts us on typewriters, on-line computer outlets, teletype terminals, and tape- and card-punching machines. Qwerty is the primary system devised to get ideas onto the printed page. So long as Mr. McLuhan's age of hot messages stays in the future (and his book royalties keep rolling in), we will have to deal with qwerty. And qwerty, it now appears, is not very efficient.

I won't bother you with the details. Developed in 1872, the present typewriter keyboard remains firmly entrenched internationally. Yet Mr. August Dvorak, the originator of the Dvorak Simplified Keyboard (patent lapsed), concluded forty years ago that we could have a superior keyboard simply by arranging the keys at random. He devised a truly efficient keyboard, and during World War II, fourteen Navy women were retrained to use it. After one month the women were turning out 74 percent more work and were 68 percent more accurate. Lekberg writes: "Using the Dvorak simplified keyboard, or DSK, as it came to be called, the women's fingertips were moving little more than one mile on an average day, compared with twelve to twenty miles a day for typists using the standard keyboard." In 1965, the U.S. Bureau of Standards announced that "there is little need to demonstrate further the superiority of the Dvorak keyboard in experimental tests. Plenty of well-documented evidence exists."

So much for the data concerning efficiency. Yet it seems safe to conclude that not one person in ten thousand had ever heard of the Dvorak keyboard prior to Lekberg's essay. Certainly my local IBM typewriter sales department had never heard of it, in spite of the fact that one IBM model—Model D—is available with a Dvorak keyboard for a $15 surcharge. Most of the other typewriter companies offer it. They do not get calls for it, and they do not advertise it, so far as I have ever seen.

Here, then, is a classic Bentham-Burke conflict, although morality is not directly involved. Why are men so irrational as to ignore, for four decades, an utterly rational improvement? Why are intellectuals—those peculiar people who buy typewriters and hire secretaries who use them—as immune to reason as the unwashed masses? Habit. Good, old-fashioned, Burkean habit. It is costly to relearn things. It is costly to reform educational institutions that train young typists. It is costly to advertise, especially now that the patent has run out. In short, rational solutions are very expensive.

Those of us who are in the armchair-blueprint-for-social-reconstruction business should be made more humble by Mr. Dvorak's keyboard. I doubt that many of us will run out and buy one. (I may. In twenty years of typing papers, I've never learned to use more than one finger, so my costs of retraining are lower. But I probably won't.) Yet for the man who faces the typewriter keyboard daily, what could be more rational? Just a few simple changes in our habits, and we can have a far more efficient skill at our disposal. But qwerty will continue to tyrannize us, one and all, and our children and grandchildren, too. I doubt that even the Esperanto people would want to make the necessary changes. We are not that change-oriented, even for the sake of rationalism.

"Today Dvorak; tomorrow the world!" (Well, maybe I'll get to Dvorak tomorrow.)

Rational blueprints have been a glut on the market for a long time. We need them, but we should not overestimate them. They are very expensive to implement.

Gary North

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tors whose effects cannot be clearly and unambiguously traced into adolescence? If a combination of genes or of experiences that we can't isolate gives rise to homosexual tendencies, then our discussion may be brief.

An adult homosexual, in such circumstances, can no more be blamed for his deviation than for his physical stature, nor will anything that he does "transmit" homosexuality to those who are not already innately homosexual. It would also be hard to prove that homosexuality is detrimental to society; the homosexual would not threaten or undermine the family structure—he would simply be outside it. Hence, there would be no call to confine, "cure," punish, or blame homosexuals. The long hatred for them would be exposed as no better reasoned than the ancient hostility toward lepers and epileptics.

Suppose, however, that empirical research establishes the opposite extreme position, that homosexuals voluntarily and consciously assume their role and that any inner compulsion toward homosexuality is simply the compulsion of engrained habit. This possibility requires more extended consideration.

We are not used to regarding sexual deviation as stemming from volition rather than physiology, because we hear it discussed chiefly by psychiatrists, almost all of whom are behaviorists of one species or another. The current climate of opinion, not persuasive scientific data, encourages us to think that the conscious will has nothing to do with homosexuality. There are, however, facts which make the contrary position plausible, so that we ought not to be surprised if science someday confirms it:

(1) Homosexuality apparently occurs much more frequently in some communities than in others, a fact which is strange (though not inexplicable) if only physiological factors are involved.

(2) It also appears that preference for one's own sex is very much rarer among the lower animals than among humans, suggesting (though not proving) that its roots lie in the faculty that man does not share with the beasts, namely, his superior capacity for reason and conscious choice.

(3) There are other behavior patterns, apparently as involuntary as homosexuality and as mysterious in origin, which everyone regards as matters of the will. Through long habit, for example, persons may become persistently obstinate or peevish or charitable or affectionate. While physiology may prompt them in one direction or another, still we never doubt that they can change their dispositions or that, at some point in their lives (albeit very early, when their will was not, perhaps, strongly controlled by reason) they consciously took the first steps toward becoming what they are today. There is no reason *a priori* why homosexuality should not be a phenomenon of the same kind (nor, of course, any reason why it should be).

Now, *if* homosexuality is volitional, the moral arguments against adopting it as one's way of life seem to me very strong.

One of the axioms that virtually all men seem to agree on for judging conduct is that our faculties have proper uses and ought not to be employed for other ends. This assumption lies behind a great many of our commonplace moral judgments; for example, our disgust with those old Roman debauchees who would eat and drink only for the taste of their food, regurgitating it before it could provide nourishment, or our horror at cannibalism, necrophilia, grave-robbing, or such practices. If asked to produce *reasons* for our opposition to any of these actions, can we really do more than appeal to the axiom just stated and argue that the removal of that axiom would throw our system of moral judgments into chaos?

Homosexuality is self-evidently incompatible with this axiom. The reason, I suspect, for the loathing so often felt for homosexuality is its disregard of natural duality in favor of the union of one sex with itself. To *choose* such a state hardly seems possible, unless one has first abandoned any belief in a connection between human nature and the world of phenomena, such that some responses to phenomena are appropriate and some inappropriate. And to abandon that belief, as I said before, is to affirm moral anarchy.

The choice of the willing homosexual has a further implication. It denies in the strongest possible terms the bond between sex and human life. The consequence of this denial is ominous. What happens if we divorce an activity from everything that has, throughout history, made it important in human eyes? As a simple instrument of hedonism, sex has no more dignity than scratching an itch.

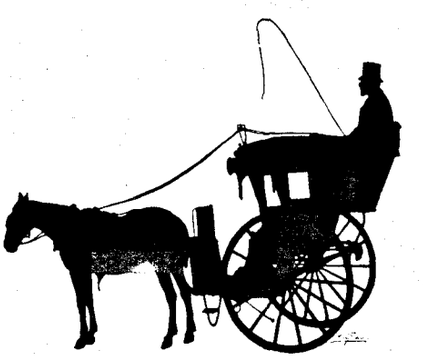
We needn't speculate on the effects of such a view of sex. It is an old error, not a new one, and has been frequent in history. The Manichees of the Middle Ages were determined to separate sex from life and alternated between an extreme puritanism on the one hand and orgiastic exploitation on the other. Both results were logical. If sex is unimportant and undignified, some persons will repudiate it, and others will grow callous in their use of it.

We may safely assert that one who *chooses* homosexuality is consenting both to a violation of fundamental moral axioms and to the corruption of his own sexual nature. His choice cannot be approved, nor can it be allowed the social tolerance and acceptability implied by full legal equality. Society depends too much on a life-affirming attitude toward an activity of such first importance.

We have now sketched what are, admittedly, two hyperbolical possibilities. Most likely, the truth, to use the hackneyed phrase, "lies somewhere in between." Our exercise is useful for this reason: it makes clear the factors to be considered once the scientific nature of homosexuality is better known. It also provides an indication of the proper way to look at homosexuality in our current state of ignorance.

Simple prudence dictates that what may be a considerable danger both to individuals and to society should not be freed from all restraint. And simple justice deprecates harsh measures against individuals who may well be both harmless and innocent of moral guilt. To combine both prudence and justice as satisfactorily as possible, I would suggest that homosexual proselytization, direct and indirect, be banned at least as stringently as at present. Beyond this, however, the homosexual should be subject to no legal, social, or occupational penalties. His private life should be as free from interference as the heterosexual's; he should be allowed to work, live, and travel as he pleases; he should not be stigmatized as especially blackmail-prone or especially inclined to molest small children; he should not be subjected to compulsory psychiatric treatment.

Such an arrangement would please none of those on either side of this question whose minds are closed to the need for evidence. Nor will it be acceptable to those pseudo-libertarians who regard freedom as a suicide pact. But I think that it has some merit as a proposal. Undoubtedly, it needs clarification and refinement. Perhaps Professor Brudnoy and those of like mind would now be willing to muffle their tirades *contra mundum* and to deal seriously with the question of how to base society's treatment of homosexuality on reason rather than bigoted rhetoric. □



BRUDNOY

(continued from page 13)

How many of us gave a damn about Negro rights until Negroes started making a fuss? Well, I have disliked that fuss (as I dislike the gay lib fuss), but, surely, we can by now see the large measure of justice in their accusations of whites. "Randolph" is somewhat wanting in a developed sense of brotherhood with those he disdains; he also misreads the article he is so laboriously, flippantly deriding. I never "required" libertarian conservatives to endorse the legalization of homosexual relationships between consenting adults. "Randolph" might take time out from calling homosexuals "queers" long enough to read my piece carefully. I clearly urge my libertarian conservative brothers to reconsider their attitudes. As to law, I ask questions at the end, giving no answers. Want an answer, Mr. "Randolph"? OK. I say: the state should cease to interfere in any way with any consensual adult sexuality in private. Period. →

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Of course the issue is "peripheral," to the survival of the West, say. But I was, after all, being somewhat ironic. It is hardly peripheral to the lives of the twenty or thirty million homosexuals in America, nor should it be of little moment to those nonhomosexuals who are interested in bettering our society. Like "Randolph," I cannot "prove" the superiority of any theological idea, in the rigorous scientific method which I favor for "proof." Nor would I wish to disparage "Randolph's" life style, or any other, so long as it did not inflict itself on others against their will. I wonder why "Randolph" fails to understand the comic aspect of his assertion that "I view homosexual tendencies in the same light as the urge to murder." It boggles the mind, truly, to witness such dullard's thinking in someone I am assured is a bright young conservative comer. Come now, Mr. "Randolph," is there no significant difference between a tendency to prefer sex with your own gender and the urge to kill someone else? I mean, think about it.

Ponder also this sentence: "Insofar as I construe homosexuality in those around me as detracting from my enjoyment of life, it is my right to discourage homosexuality by every means, save only force, at my disposal." I gather that "Randolph" would be willing to grant the same right to homosexuals whose enjoyment of life is "detracted from" by his practice of, one supposes, heterosexuality? Is that where we conservatives should be headed? To endorsing a constant verbal and journalistic war against our neighbors who diverge from our way of life? Is there not something sad about such a statement from a bright young conservative like " Randolph"? I think there is. It depresses me, deeply, to read it. I have heard much the same from Weatherpeople. They, like "Randolph," are possessed of an overdose of ungenerosity, bigotry, and sheer meanness.

On the close of the "Randolph" letter: Catch the fallacy in this. If heterosexuality and heterosexuality alone is "natural," then homosexuality cannot entice any but those who are not "natural." "Randolph" asserts the former, but denies the latter by saying that this "unnatural" evil can gain "new memberships" via proselytizing. Dwarfism, I take it, is not "normal," but dwarfism cannot be induced in tall people by Dwarf Pride. How can "normal" (or "natural") heterosexuals catch. . . homosexuality? Anyhow, I am most definitely NOT interested in trying to convince anybody to *be* homosexual. I am interested in showing people the horrid record of persecution meted out to homosexuals over the centuries, and then in inviting them to act like decent human beings and start acting decently toward homosexuals now. If someone wishes to drum me out of the conservative movement for despising oppression, he is free to try. I am not so easily pushed about, however, and will continue to assert to my conservative brethren, as to liberals and leftists, that the most worthy thing a writer can do is stand up for civility and attack cruelty.

Veal's remarks are extensive, heavily laden with scholarly tidbits, and more interesting than those of Mr. "Randolph." He also has the will to dispute this matter under his own name, and not to hide his views behind a pseudonym. I admire that. As to his arguments, again I must assert that I have read history closely on this matter and do not retract a word of my historical overview in the February *Alternative* article. Again, let me refer to Negro history as a parallel. Until recently, few historians knew much about Negro life in America, or the extent of Negro rebellion, or the dislocations arising from the institution of slavery—beyond those, of course, most readily perceived. We yet endure the legacy of that hideous institution, in the excessive crime, broken family life, and emotional disturbances prevalent among Negroes. Some years back, beginning particularly in the 1930s with the Marxist Herbert Aptheker, and in later decades with other historians, research into Negro life and history "caught on," as it were, and students (like me) were privileged to learn things my father and grandfather and great-grandfather never learned in school. That students of medieval history have not usually been treated to information about the medieval barbarism *in re* homosexuality, is no reason to assert, as Veal does, that I am "wildly inaccurate" in my remarks. Appeals to Informed Sources make little impression on me, especially insofar as many informed specialists in this field and that are quite unconcerned with some aspect of their specialty and so tend to slight it in their research.

Allow me an historical lesson that I often use in teaching early American history. In remarking the increase in hortatory sermons denouncing evils of one sort or another as the sixteenth century wore on, I ask my students to tell me whether they think the sermons (and the laws) served the purpose of stopping the evils. Usually, they say yes. Poor children. We may, I think, assume that the more the preachment, and the stiffer the laws, the more extensive the "evil," not the reverse. This is no ultra-sophisticated example, but it serves. Then I go

on: is the *absence* of laws or sermons an indication that a particular "evil" did not exist? They (my students) usually say yes. Again, I think they are in error. Some "evils" are so secretive that they never become discussed publicly. To assert, from the paucity of written material on homosexuality in the Middle Ages, that it was not a widely practiced form of behavior, is to assume that the unmentioned is the nonexistent. We may, today, talk freely of this famous contemporary being homosexual, or that one, or that one over there. Our European and colonial ancestors didn't talk that way. Why? Because there weren't homosexuals? Hardly. Because homosexuality was so loathed, I believe, that to acknowledge one's homosexuality was to invite instant punishment, usually fiendish torture and/or death. Little wonder that only in certain exceptional eras throughout world history have homosexuals "surfaced" (that's contemporary Gay Lib jargon; sorry). But they existed, always, for sure. We get *hints* about earlier attitudes toward the subject, but, please note, we have no western medieval literature written by homosexuals explaining what their lives were like. I have, admittedly, made some guesses. I think (perhaps I am foolish) that certain human tendencies —like the heterosexual urge, and the homosexual—are fairly constant throughout human history. I know that most American homosexuals today are unhappy about having to lead double lives, and I believe (based on voluminous reading and extensive discussion) that most homosexuals in America lead incomplete lives owing largely to that im-

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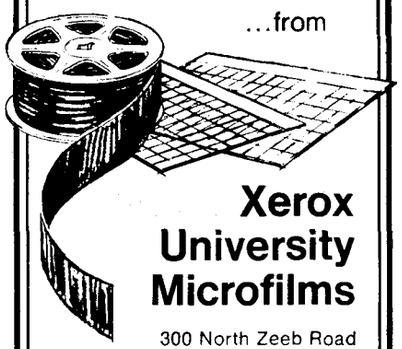

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perative. I shall continue to assume, until educated to the contrary, that medieval homosexuals lived lives of unspeakable terror (if they practiced their homosexuality) or of pathetic loneliness (if they didn't). Enough on the medievals.

In his last pages, Veal opens some worthwhile areas of discussion. I applaud Mr. Veal's steps in the right direction, as outlined in his penultimate paragraph. But I wonder: how can a homosexual both be encouraged to come to accept himself without guilt, without shame, without self-loathing, and simultaneously not appear to be "proselytizing" just by virtue of his manifest self-confidence once he has succeeded in breaking out of his closet? Veal wishes to enjoin "homosexual proselytization, direct and indirect," through "stringent" bans. Certainly "indirect" proselytization would include merely *being* —and letting one's friends and acquaintances and associates know the fact of being—a happy homosexual, would it not?

In conclusion, or rather, in termination (for no conclusion is possible), I

should reiterate that I do not *urge* anybody to "be" homosexual, which would be as stupid an exercise as urging anybody to "be" heterosexual, given the likelihood that children *become* "heterosexual" or "homosexual" as a direct result, and during the time span, of their early childhood, which time of life is (or should be, let us hope) the affair of the parents and not of the state or other interlopers.

I *do* insist that we know what the historical record is, know what goes on now, and act like concerned, decent human beings and cease our continual, vicious maltreatment of homosexuals and other unfashionable minorities. My main concern now in regard to this matter, as evidenced by my willingness to respond to these two basically ignorant letters (ignorant of the central problems of sexuality, of the contemporary struggle by despised homosexuals to gain their full measure of equality and understanding, albeit superficially erudite in spots as to some details of some past eras), is in opening the discussion.

Let us not give our descendants a century hence yet another reason to shake their heads in wonderment as to our ignorance. Let us, instead, try to understand, try to improve our own attitudes, try to speak sense and not nonsense. □

Book Review

Eisenhower and the American Crusades

by Herbert S. Parmet
Macmillan $12.95

Writing in 1951, Samuel Lubell appraised Truman's term in office as follows: "There is much to be said, after all, for the mariner who, knowing that he cannot quiet the storm, contrives somehow to stay afloat until the storm has died down of itself. The major problems Truman has been grappling with are mainly inherited. All are fearfully difficult, perhaps impossible of harmonious solution. As the President of the last center of hope in the world, Truman could hardly confess helplessness. Unable either to reconcile or to ignore the forces in conflict, he has tried to stall them off hoping that time would make decision unnecessary" (*Future of American Politics,* first ed., p. 22).

The burden of Parmet's book is that the Eisenhower Administration saw the storm die down; by skillfully exploiting his public image as a man "above politics," Eisenhower was able to preside over the calming down of the storm so as to help the process along. For eight years, it seemed as if the crucial decisions could be put off; and, indeed, for most of the eight years, it seemed as if, both in foreign affairs and in the economy, the situation was righting itself without the need for major governmental breatkthroughs.

In foreign policy, Truman had managed to take some major steps (the Marshall Plan and NATO among them) to reestablish the strength and prosperity of the Western European democracies, and to stabilize the positions of communist and non-communist influence roughly along the line reached by Russian troops at the end of World War II. These policies, however, came under sharp attack from a vocal segment of the so-called Old Guard of the Republican Party.

On the one hand, the isolationist sentiment of the prewar years bridled at the collective security aspects of NATO, and fiscal conservatives warned against the high costs of foreign military and economic aid. On the other, Truman's policy, bearing the impolitic title of "containment" offered no promise that action could be taken to remove Eastern Europe from Soviet influence and control. Truman's policy, which demanded continual exertion without, however, promising or even pursuing an early total victory, was precisely the sort which, more than one hundred years earlier, Tocqueville had written that a democracy could not follow; and certainly Truman's experience did not disprove the general rule that "a democracy can only with great difficulty regulate the details of an important undertaking, persevere in a fixed design, and work out its execution in spite of serious obstacles. It cannot combine its measures with secrecy or await their consequences with patience" (*Democracy in America,* I, ch. 13, end).

With respect to Asia, Truman's situation was even worse. The communist victory in China had closed the "Open Door" and the war in Korea was achieving only "containment," but at a far greater cost. Enthusiasm for a victory over communism had made it impossible to stop the northward advance of the UN troops at the thirty-eighth parallel in what would have been an impressive display of the ability of the United States to stop the armed advance of communism. On the other hand, the real costs of an all-out war with China made complete victory an inadvisable goal and led to the firing of the popular General MacArthur.

Compounding these frustrations was the American penchant for refighting old battles—in this case, the attempt by the prewar isolationists to vindicate their opposition to American entry into the war against Nazi Germany. The importance of Yalta probably stems from the fact that it symbolizes the unsatisfactory result of the war in Europe; Germany's defeat brought in its wake the communization of Eastern Europe. It was consequently no defense to say that the Yalta agreement in fact provided for more autonomy for Poland than the Russians subsequently allowed; the real point was that the war, and the "defeat Germany first" policy, resulted in the Russians being able to treat Poland as they wished, Yalta or no Yalta.

Eisenhower and Dulles in large measure continued the Truman policy, but were careful to deflect the anger and

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frustration to which it had given rise away from themselves, in part by actively directing those passions against their predecessors. In fact, Parmet indicates that the main motive behind Eisenhower's candidacy in 1952 was his desire to protect the policy of collective security through NATO and American military and economic support for Western Europe. According to our author, the decisive point in the decision to run was Senator Lodge's argument, on September 4, 1951, that Eisenhower must protect the Republican Party, and thereby the country, against the "prominence of Old Guarders and their indifference or even hostility to programs that had been created to fortify Western Europe against communist expansion. Shortsightedness and political opportunism from such quarters threatened the viability of democratic, private-enterprise economies outside the Soviet sphere" (p. 47).

Eisenhower and Dulles avoided the pitfalls of their predecessors' policies by changing the accompanying rhetoric. Hence, the attacks on "containment," in favor of "liberation" of communist-controlled countries in Eastern Europe. In addition to serving the specific political purpose of appealing to those normally Democratic voters whose ancestral homelands were behind the Iron Curtain, these attacks presented the appearance of taking the offensive against communism. The harsher anticommunist tone of the Eisenhower Administration assuaged the frustrations of the years of communist advances in Europe and Asia without, however, forcing the country into any potentially dangerous confrontations. Accordingly, Eisenhower followed the Truman policy in Korea, settling for an armistice which left Korea divided and which Syngman Rhee actively tried to sabotage.

In domestic affairs, as well, Eisenhower disappointed those who hoped for a total reversal of direction. On the specific issue of economy in government, Eisenhower was unable to reduce the federal budget to the extent the Old Guard Republicans had wished. By making some suggestions about a "New Look" in military preparedness which would reduce governmental expenditures by "getting more bang for the buck," he played up to the fiscal conservatives. Nevertheless, breaching the $70 billion expenditure level, which he considered a necessity, disappointed the conservatives and prepared the scene for the embarrassing budget battle of 1957.

In many areas of domestic policy, Eisenhower was a true conservative, but not in the sense in which the Old Guard understood the term; for he was not in favor of dismantling the New Deal, nor was he prepared to absolve the government of responsibility for maintaining a high level of economic activity. Similarly, he did not share the desire to undo the gains that labor unions had made in the course of the previous Democratic administrations.

Rather, Eisenhower's conservatism represented an adherence to many of the political ideas and values that dominated American life before the depression and which the New Deal had violated but not destroyed. Such values as economic individualism (crudely expressed in Secretary Wilson's preference for bird dogs over kennel dogs: "You know, one will get out and hunt for food rather than sit on his fanny and yell.") were still strongly held by the mass of the people, as they were by Eisenhower who was, in many ways, that population's most accurate representative. This feeling did not, however, translate itself into a doctrine of *laissez-faire,* a sudden return to which would have been regarded as risky and anything but conservative.

Eisenhower also shared the fear of the centralization of power which forms an important element of the American political culture. Yet, again, this did not become dogma—the centralization process was slowed but allowed to continue with respect to felt needs in the areas of school and highway construction.

The Eisenhower Administration is an interesting test of the feasibility of a nonideological conservatism based on traditional morality and tempered by the expediency and caution which usually go by the name of "statesmanship." It is a difficult question to what extent its successes were based on its own character and actions and to what extent it was merely lucky. Certainly, its problems in the field of foreign affairs were very much eased by the death of Stalin and the sudden willingness of the North Koreans to compromise on the POW issue. On the other hand, its avoidance of war in Indochina, the Middle East, and the Formosa Straits seems to be due to its subtle and cautious handling of these crises. As

Book Review

Here Comes Immorality

by Jerome Tuccille
Stein & Day $6.95

I know notice that anarchy has managed
to capture the imagination of the Mass
Media.

I read books/reviews
and remember the
New Left
Children
dead as my empty glass.
Right-wing
Anarchists
Seeking space in New York Times
Pictures next in Vogue/Playboy/Time

Gentle
men
women
people
(Or some percentage thereof)
Actions speak louder than
praise for Chairman Mao or
North America

How nice to
confront a
NEW
movement.
Remember your children.

At all times there
are two sides to the
coin.

Destroy the State.
The State believes
That it can survive.

TREAD CAREFULLY.

Phillip Abbott Luce

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Khrushchev was reported to have said of Dulles: "I admire his intelligence, his wide knowledge, his integrity and his courage. Dulles invented brinksmanship but he would never step over the brink" (p. 542). But one must also ask whether the caution that avoided war in Indochina and confrontation with Russia over Suez did not merely buy problems for the future.

Conservatives are often taxed with the "contradiction" of wanting strong (and expensive) governmental action in foreign and military affairs while wanting weak (and inexpensive) government at home. Eisenhower, for one, was at least well aware of the problem. Indeed, what was called the "Great Equation," the proper "trade-off" between budgetary frugality and military and foreign expenditures, was a central concern of the Administration from start to finish. The oft-quoted warning, in Eisenhower's "Farewell Address," against "the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex" is balanced by an assertion of the necessity of "an immense military establishment and a large arms industry." The fear of concentrations of power at home and the recognition of the need for exercising power abroad form a central dilemma of conservatism.

Striking the necessary balance is a task of statesmanship, and, in this respect, using hindsight, we may judge that Eisenhower performed the task competently if not admirably. The post-Sputnik attacks on Eisenhower's frugality with respect to aerospace and missile research and development, culminating in the "missile gap" presidential campaign of John F. Kennedy, now seem to have been somewhat wide of the mark: the "missile gap" all but disappeared in the face of revised estimates of Soviet strength, and our winning the "race to the moon" seems to have had little effect on the strategic balance of power. Conversely, the heavy military expenditures of the Kennedy-Johnson years created economic difficulties which now threaten to weaken our strategic position.

On the other hand, the arguments that the Eisenhower Administration was spending the country into bankruptcy, which surfaced from time to time in opposition to foreign military and economic aid, were certainly unfounded: the economy that Kennedy inherited in 1961 had plenty of slack in it.

In domestic affairs, the Eisenhower Administration presided over the consolidation of the economic gains made by the main components of the Roosevelt coalition. When Eisenhower tried to challenge some of these gains, as in the farm policies of Ezra Taft Benson, he was not particularly successful. Otherwise, a generally conservative posture was acceptable to those who were just beginning to enjoy the fruits of the political action of the previous decades; this satisfaction did not, however, run very deep, as the Democratic congressional landslide in the recession year of 1958 indicated.

It was in the field of civil rights and race relations that the conservative posture of the Eisenhower Administration was most severely tested and it may well be that it was in that field that it was least successful. Eisenhower's cautious references to the school desegregation ruling and his support, in general, for the principle of states' rights did not obviate the need for him to make "the most repugnant move he ever had to make as President," the sending of federal troops to Little Rock.

Unfortunately, Parmet does not evaluate Eisenhower's perspective as a whole, or decide whether it was adequate for governing the country in the 1950s. His style is that of the chronicler. Relying on contemporary sources, mainly newspaper accounts, he gives a blow-by-blow account of the important episodes of Eisenhower's candidacy and the early years of his presidency. (His coverage of Eisenhower's second term occupies only four of the book's thirty-nine chapters.) One feels, at times, as if one is reading the old newspapers themselves. Depending on the reader's attitude, this may cause impatience at the author's long-windedness, or a certain nostalgic pleasure in immersing oneself in the past, the latter attitude being punctuated, from time to time, by the making of a sudden and surprising discovery—one is totally unprepared, for example, for finding the name of Senator Kuchel in the list of Republican senators who opposed the censure of McCarthy.

Parmet's main analytic thrust is to dispute the common view of Eisenhower as a politically naive president who was led (or misled, depending on one's point of view) by his advisers and isolated by his "staff." In fact, according to Parmet, his seeming naiveté and detachment from many important and controversial issues was a deliberate strategy employed to conserve Ike's major political asset—his popular image as being "above politics," and hence unusually trustworthy. "He had the skill and personality to perpetuate the image of a man whose demeanor contrasted with the professional politicians who had preceded him. His circumlocutions and lapses of syntax at press conferences, his frequent confessions of ignorance about specific situations were accompanied by an infectious grin that made it impossible for anyone to consider him a shrewd manipulator. Perhaps better than anyone else, he knew that the apparent ignorance, the denial of expertise was a source of political strength before an American public that was suspicious of experts and 'eggheads, . . .'" (p. 175).

In explaining Eisenhower's apparent inactivity and lack of leadership during the fight over the Bricker amendment, a battle which he considered extremely important, Parmet cites his awareness that his "popularity was largely based on belief that his patriotism would overcome any interest in political warfare" (p. 309). As a result, he was able to give Senator Bricker the impression that Secretary Dulles was the source of his opposition to the amendment; in fact, Eisenhower was more opposed to the amendment than Dulles himself. (Against this, one must consider that one version of the amendment was defeated in the Senate by only one vote: was Eisenhower shrewd or lucky?)

But admitting Parmet's point about Eisenhower's personal ability and actual responsibility for the actions of his administration, we are only at the very beginning of an attempt to assess the wisdom of those actions. Eisenhower was probably uniquely equipped for the task of bringing stability and calm to a nation that had undergone traumatic events in both domestic and foreign affairs, and was still reeling from the effects of those events as well as from its own reactions to them. He embodied the values of "morality, democracy, decency, distrust of power, and the virtues of Americanism and duty" and in so doing retained his own standing with the people through a period which seems "placid" mainly by comparison with that which was to come.

Nevertheless, we must investigate the painful question of whether the solutions of the Eisenhower years were not merely resolutions of problems whose substance had already disappeared; and whether the foreign and domestic crises of the 1960s could not have been forestalled by more vigorous leadership in the preceding decade. If nothing else, the sense of drift which affected the country in the late 1950s was in itself an important political effect whose causes may have to be sought in the Eisenhower style. →

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Eisenhower was probably more representative of the political values and ideas of the great mass of the American people (when they are not agitated by war or depression, and perhaps even then) than any other recent president. Consequently, the question we have raised goes to the adequacy of the American political culture to govern the country in the absence of vigorous leadership from the executive branch, a leadership which is willing and able to pursue policies which the mass of the people simply do not understand and whose support must be dispensed with or procured, to the extent possible, by means of slick management of the media. Even admitting that this states a problem beyond the possible scope of any book, one is bound to be disappointed in Parmet's conclusion: "To label [Eisenhower] a great or good or even a weak President misses the point. He was merely necessary."

Abram N. Shulsky

Book Review

The Diffusion of Power

by W. W. Rostow
Macmillan $12.50

Outlining to the 1960 Pugwash conference what he felt was "the central historical fact of our time," Walt Whitman Rostow declared that "power is being rapidly diffused away from Moscow and Washington." Continuing his address, Rostow compared our time to the era immediately following 1815. By 1815, contended Rostow, Britain was the only country which had absorbed the industrial revolution, with the result that she was the preeminent international power. During the century following 1815, however, a number of other countries, including the United States, Germany, France, Japan, and Russia, also experienced industrialization and thus eventually rivalled Britain in power. In much the same way, Rostow prophesied, "the industrial revolution is taking hold in China and Eastern Europe; and it is occurring—or it will soon occur—in the whole southern half of the globe.

"The inevitable result is that industrial potential, military power and influence on the world scene are being diffused and will continue to be diffused.

"Faced with this fact, there are three choices open to the Soviet Union and the United States. We can stumble into a war and destroy a large part of what man has built on the face of the earth and a large part of the world's population. We can continue the Cold War until the diffusion of power removes the capacity to decide from Moscow and Washington. Or, working constructively together, we can create the terms on which power will become diffused."

It is toward achieving this third alternative that Rostow has dedicated his considerable intellectual skills during the last few decades, and it is this theme which provides the title for Rostow's massive and sweeping *Diffusion of Power*. As a close adviser to President Kennedy, and an even more influential special assistant to President Johnson for national security affairs, Rostow has had a considerable impact on American foreign policy in general, and Southeast Asian policy in particular.

In this extremely interesting and informative work, Rostow attempts to discuss his role in shaping U.S. foreign policy, to evaluate and analyze each of the last four presidents, to explain the development of contemporary international politics, and to examine the primary currents in American political life. Along the way we are treated to discussions and explanations of economics, diplomacy, sociology, the Berlin crisis, the Bay of Pigs, the rise and fall of radicalism on the campus, the role and functioning of the press, U.S. policy in Laos and Vietnam, Sino-American relations (Rostow reveals that JFK "canvassed cooly various routes, diplomatic and other, that might deny China a nuclear capability"), racial strife at home, and virtually every major public policy question of the last fifteen years. That he has bitten off somewhat more than he can successfully chew does not detract from the worth of his important volume.

The most fully developed section of the book is Rostow's treatment of our involvement in Vietnam. He does a fine job of recreating the intellectual and political background of the struggle, and his discussion of the conduct of the war is must reading for any serious scholar interested in why the United States acted as it did. Rostow provides a strong defense of U.S. policy in Southeast Asia, and subjects many myths of the war to harsh scrutiny. His criticism of the press for its coverage of the war is excellent, and his quotes from various pundits and commentators, especially Daniel Ellsberg, should be read and savored. His treatment of the Pentagon Papers, the Tet offensive, and the "credibility gap" syndrome are also most useful.

He criticizes President Kennedy for his failure to exert pressure on the Soviet Union to help enforce the Laos Accords of 1962, and notes that the President's failure to take proper measures at an early stage of the Vietnam crisis was "the greatest single error in American policy of the 1960s." Rostow also informs us that he considered the war "unwinnable" (except at "prohibitive cost") unless infiltration through South Vietnam's border was stopped. As early as 1961 Rostow raised the possibility of "moving forces into North Vietnam itself," though, he cautions, "not in the area around Hanoi."

Although Rostow's critique is consistently that of the realist school, his discussion (read defense) of military "gradualism" in Vietnam is somewhat optimistic and less than convincing. Rostow is far too intelligent to be unaware of the costs of such a strategy, although he expresses his awareness in rather curious fashion: "Johnson's care to avoid a larger war in Asia had its cost. The inevitable protracted nature of the engagement gradually eroded the initial basis of public support and left him and the nation particularly vulnerable to the confusions attendant upon the Tet offensive and its aftermath—confusions for which his administration and American journalism jointly bear responsibility."

Despite its general excellence, the book may be criticized on grounds of both structure and content. First, Rostow has attempted to deal with so many diverse facets of existence that he has inadequately developed many of them. His major theme, the diffusion of power in the international arena, should have received more concentrated attention. In fact Rostow probably should have done two books, one on domestic American political life and another on international relations. In short, *Diffusion of Power* suffers from diffusion of focus.

There are other criticisms that can be made of Professor Rostow's opus—criticisms that are more particular in nature, relating to content, and especially to his interpretation of various intents and circumstances. As economist and historian, and by political creed, Rostow is a member in good standing of the Establishment, sharing its belief in the domestic policies of FDR, HST, JFK and LBJ, and its strong predilection for the rationalist style in politics. This rationalist style leads to a belief, bordering on faith, in the efficacy of central planning, or what one might call managerialism. This belief colors the book throughout and leads, at times, to judgments which are questionable.

For example, Rostow's aversion to "the initial laissez-faire posture of the Nixon administration" leads him to claim that "by 1971 the United States was caught in a version of inflation long familiar in Latin America." Surely Nixon's economic policies could only be described as "laissez-faire" in an extremely relative way, and to ascribe responsibility to them for *causing* our economic ills is simply wrong. Likewise the comparison to Latin American inflation is extremely labored.

Again, Rostow's belief in central planning causes him to lament Nixon's inability to comprehend "the wastages of talent and vitality that came with inequalities of opportunity in American society." He baldly states "the United States is not matching the scale of its unresolved problems with adequate resources." Certainly one of the lessons of the sixties should be the debunking of

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the rationalist myth that "human problems" are soluble merely by applying adequate amounts of money and manpower along lines developed by various social planners. That this lesson has been, or is being, learned is a "consummation devoutly to be wished."

Finally, this same criticism can be levelled at Rostow's enthusiasm for the Johnson and Kennedy domestic records. The turbulence and inflammation of domestic life during the sixties is ascribed to a vague "dynamics of American society and the pathology it had permitted to develop in the heart of the great cities." Of President Kennedy's inability to achieve a substantial legislative program, Rostow offers in defense De Gaulle's observation: "Leaders of men . . . are remembered less for the usefulness of what they achieved than for the sweep of their endeavors. Though sometimes reason may condemn them, feeling clothes them in an aura of glory."

His sympathy for JFK even leads him to note: "These words from his Inaugural Address may seem excessively rhetorical in safer, more ambivalent times; but they rang true in his day, as Kennedy acted upon them: 'Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and success of liberty.' " Suffice it to note that most realist political analysts have applauded the Nixon Doctrine precisely because it repudiates such grandiose sentiments.

Although one could apply these criticisms to other areas of the book, it again should be emphasized that in the final analysis *Diffusion of Power* is a valuable addition to the literature of public policy studies. It is intelligent, well-written, full of useful information, and persuasive, and I know of no other recent work that does as much to provide perspective on such a wide variety of topics.

Wayne H. Valis

Book Review

Inequality: A Reassessment

by Christopher Jencks
Basic Books $12.50

It has now been nearly a year since the release of Christopher Jencks' *Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America* (first reviewed with *Deschooling Society* in *The Alternative* , February 1973), and the flurry of debate which arose over the book when it first appeared at last shows signs of subsiding. At its height the debate centered on two major questions: first, was Jencks' data accurate and valid? and second, were Jencks' conclusions and political recommendations justifiable on the basis of his data?—or could they be justified even disregarding his data? In recent months, as raging argument has quieted to a murmur, it appears that the controversy may well be settled for good. Experts in fields as diverse as psychology and economics have awarded a near-unanimous "thumbs-up" to the first question, spreading an eerie hush over our community of educators, and a "thumbs-down" to the second question, forcing radical social critiques to disown Jencks in droves.

Jencks' statistics alone, which seem to wreck educators' hopes and social planners' dreams that social inequality can be significantly reduced by a massive reallocation of our nation's resources to ensure "equal opportunity," have aroused much frenzy over the past year but have yet to be seriously challenged. Most of Jencks' data on the effectiveness of public schooling is a face value interpretation of the giant 1967 EEOS ("Coleman") Study, and advocates of "equal opportunity," to their extreme discomfort, have not yet found a comparable study on which they might base a refutation. On the other hand, Jencks' thoroughgoing egalitarianism, which informs all of his recommendations that individual income be equalized by governmental decree, is naive and simplistic. Critics of almost every ideological persuasion have shown his plans to be unworkable. Happily, Jencks is candid about separating the facts from his opinions, and so helps the reader sift valuable wheat from quite worthless and misleading chaff.

For almost a generation now, the popularized folklore of educators and social scientists has led us to believe we know what generally determines the "success" or "failure" of the average American citizen. Jencks and his associates, who set out to test our preconceptions—in terms of income and occupational status —end up by proving us wrong and show that what we think influences "success" has little or no influence at all. Hereditary I.Q., years of schooling, and "family environment," have a surprisingly small effect on how much money an individual will earn or what status he will hold. Other factors—income or status of parents, cognitive aptitude scores, school grades, quality of schools attended—have practically no effect. Two brothers from the same family who start out in the same schools, Jencks shows, later in life will have incomes and statuses whose average standard deviation (inequality) will be almost as large as for two men randomly chosen from the general population.

Moreover, Jencks demonstrates that the cognitive skills taught by schools not only have little effect on individual "success," but that no public school is much more or less effective at teaching these skills than any other public school. The disparity among achievement scores at a single school is almost as great as the disparity among scores at all schools. Increased expenditures in schooling (for facilities, teachers, etc.) have virtually no impact on effectiveness. In short, Jencks' statistics show that a person's economic or social standing relative to society at large are two, very long steps removed from whatever schooling he may have had. He concludes, quite rightly, that equalizing the resources spent per pupil in the United States, even meticulously equalizing the facilities and teacher/student ratios in each school and forcing everyone to attend school for exactly the same number of years, will do almost nothing to reduce general, social and economic inequality.

So far the facts still stand—surprisingly uncontroverted in months of debate. But beyond this point, Jencks' conclusions turn from sense to nonsense and the further Jencks wanders from his own area of expertise, statistics and education, the more puzzling his ideas become. Jencks somehow assumes, first of all, that our society's one, overriding purpose is to bring about a drastic reduction in economic inequality. He reasons that there are two ways of achieving this: (1) to bestow upon every citizen an equal level of competence, so that everyone will have an equivalent "earning-power" in our *laissez-faire* economy, or (2) to "change the rules of the game," and directly reduce the rewards of competence and/or "success" and the costs of incompetence and/or "failure." Those who have followed the first path, trying to reach income and status equality by achieving "equal opportunity," have failed, and Jencks' analysis ably shows why they failed: neither they nor he nor anyone knows what causes competence or "success." So Jencks opts for the second alternative, which of course means the end of a capitalist society as we know it. Incomes, he suggests, are to be made more equal for specific occupations by legislative fiat (the standard socialist approach), or by positive and negative income taxes, steeply graduated on either side of the average income level, or by mandatory "employment insurance" which would allow minor income discrepancies, in true Orwellian fashion, according to innate intelligence, family background, and "objective" aptitude tests.

Jencks' proposals are frightening to contemplate. He defends his basic premise—the more equality the better —with such an improbable argument that the reader can be glad he spends only a couple of pages on it. His syllogism runs as follows: (a) every individual's happiness is of equal value, (b) according to Bentham, society should provide the greatest good to the greatest number, (c) according to the law of diminishing returns, increasing increments of income are less valuable to those with high incomes than to those with low incomes, (d) therefore, the smaller the disparity between incomes, the greater the total satisfaction, and the better the society. Jencks conjures up an army of hopeless vagaries. What

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is his "happiness"? How should his "value" be measured? Does "value" mean value to the individual, to the society, or to the civilization? Why is everyone's "happiness" of equal value? Why does Jencks prefer Bentham's dictum over the more prestigious political theories of an Aristotle or a Locke? The law of diminishing returns does not apply to education (as Jencks himself admits)—those with more education place greater value on additional learning than those with less education—so why should the law apply to monetary income? So much for egalitarianism's theoretical groundwork.

Because much of what we think causes "success" actually doesn't make

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much difference one way or the other, Jencks tells us that "success" is largely a matter of luck or chance, and that perhaps "success" has more to do with luck than any sort of on-the-job competence. Once the idea of luck is introduced, of course, the stage is set. Jencks can then go on to advocate greater equality as an effort not to deny an individual the rewards of good work, but to "neutralize the effects of luck." No one would consent to the former, but who would object to eliminating the whims of economic insecurity? Fortunately, Jencks' critics have refused to be taken by such sophistry. Ernest van den Haag (*National Review*, Feb. 16, 1973) writes in reply that there may well be more to "luck" than what meets the social scientist's eye: " 'Luck'," observes van den Haag, "is but a residual category: that which has not been satisfactorily explained. Most likely 'luck' here refers in part to a set of abilities, as yet unknown, or unmeasured, which may cause some to earn more income than others. (Jencks half-recognizes as much, but in his argument, wholly forgets it.) These abilities—imagination? drive? initiative? talent? persistence? decisiveness? boldness? prudence? discretion?—may be scarce; their optimal combination may be scarcer still. Comparatively high earnings may be needed to draw (and keep) people with these characteristics into jobs in which they are most useful."

Even assuming that van den Haag is wrong and that earnings are dependent largely on "luck" (i.e., acts of God, pure and simple, from cancer at one extreme to winning lottery tickets at the other), surely the moral imperative to equalize is weaker than our wish to reward what little, extant human virtue remains. We could take the matter one step further: even if "success" were *totally* dependent on blind chance, our society and economy might still be in sore need of those hardy fellows willing to gamble for the highest stakes—for example, the corporation that will spend years in the wilderness looking for minerals and return either bankrupt or millions of dollars richer. Under an equalized income, who would bother with risk? And with everyone's incentive to assume risk cut roughly in half (Jencks suggests that incomes be equalized by 50 percent above and below the median income), who could predict the economic consequences, on investment? on technological and organizational innovation? on the production and protection of natural resources?

One great fallacy of Jencks' egalitarianism, a fallacy that certainly no economist could overlook, is his assumption that all incoming revenue (in effect, the GNP, what our society earns by what it produces) is a single, vast reservoir of resources, ready to be sliced up in whatever way seems equitable. Once Jencks presents the issue in these terms, that is to say, once the revenue itself is removed from the process by which it is earned, we can quibble about all sorts of utopian programs for distributing it. Who is to say that equal slices are all that less fair than unequal slices? Again, Jencks is clouding our better judgment. In fact, as we all know, the GNP is nothing but the estimated total of millions of individual transactions. Behind the GNP are countless jobs performed, prices haggled over and agreed upon, and dearly treasured dollars handed from one party to another. Recipients do their best to jack the price up, purchasers to push it down; resources are thereby allocated to where they are most needed, and individuals are encouraged to produce what is most needed. In short, the GNP is not fixed, nor is it a lump sum, waiting to be divided. The mechanics of a capitalist economy operate at the level of the individual transaction, and Jencks, by leading us into the labyrinthine intracacies of the mythical GNP, only diverts our attention from how our economy actually functions. Jencks seems to have no acquaintance with a fundamental rule of capitalist economics: allotting more resources to those who are most effective in producing resources yields still more resources for everyone else.

Nathan Keyfitz, responding to Jencks (*Public Interest*, Spring, 1973) translates this rule into a more complicated axiom of human nature. Jencks assumes, he writes, that "much of our GNP serves to mark social differences." But Keyfitz then asks whether in truth it might just as well be the reverse, whether—above a certain minimal income needed for survival—"the purpose of social differences is to give people an incentive to work hard and thus raise incomes." The first suggests that wiping out social distinctions would mean we could use our income for more "useful" purposes. The second suggests that wiping out all social distinctions (and hope of such distinctions) would return us—who knows? —to the economic level of an agrarian village.

In sum, the problems with Jencks' egalitarian society have yet to be solved. They are far more fundamental than the problems of a socialist society. We await some genius who can figure out a way, in an egalitarian society, for (1) motivating people to perform tasks efficiently and well, (2) providing incentives for assuming risks, and (3) allocating individual or organizational talent. The centralized planning of a socialist economy, in theory at least, can provide for all of this. Indeed, capitalist incentives usually have a way of sneaking in the back door of socialist economies, and recent studies have shown that inequality in European socialist nations is generally no smaller than in capitalist nations. An egalitarian economy, however, changes the "rules of the game" so drastically that we would certainly have to change human nature first—and Jencks, who shows us how little we know about the everyday task of giving a child a good education—certainly can't hold out much hope here!

So now that we have had a year to mull it over, what do we do with Jencks' *Reassessment*? Simple. We take a pair of scissors and exorcize the passages in which Jencks delves into his own opinions and recommendations, and we save the rest as a well-executed and important work of research. Actually (and many readers have found this ironic), *Reassessment*'s statistics are a resounding testimonial to the fulfillment of the American dream. They may disappoint, on the one hand, the hopes of social environmentalists, our modern day standard-bearers of that old and quite American enthusiasm for making us all more democratic and equal by giving each child a better upbringing and a better education. But on the other hand, they indicate that we have in fact achieved a society with an extraordinary amount of social mobility, a society in which anyone has the opportunity to succeed by virtue of his talent, experience, wisdom, "drive," or any one of a host of hidden virtues. They attest too to the strength of the principles of a capitalist economy by showing that an individual's monetary income cannot be predicted or planned for in advance no matter how much we know about his background. Perhaps unintentionally, Jencks has destroyed the "social class determinism" theories of the Old Left, and he has offered a passing challenge to the nascent "geneticist" school (of Herrnstein, Jensen, Shockley, and others). Jencks reassures us that we are free from the bonds of any identifiable, generation-to-generation caste structure. His statistics confirm—despite confused and confusing rhetoric—that American immigrants did not leave the Old World in vain after all. □

Neil Howe

The American Salad

Our agents at the Baltimore *Sun* report that a solicitation from the Diners Club of America was received recently at the *Sun* offices, addressed to Mr. H.L. Mencken. The Diners Club informed Mr. Mencken that it knew how much he traveled and "under the circumstances membership would be extremely beneficial." Unfortunately, Mr. Mencken's mailing address has been changed, for he passed away some seventeen years ago. So it is not surprising that the Diners Club's thoughtful solicitation was received instead by Mr. Joe Moran, editor of the obituaries for the *Sun*. When our agents asked Mr. Moran to recall that great American's autumnal days in the editorial offices of the *Sun*, a wistful Mr. Moran mused nostalgically: "He was the biggest smart aleck I have ever met." Alas, and gooddamn!

NOTICE

Due to a nationwide paper shortage, the November issue of *The Alternative* may be late in arriving at your address. Please be patient while we try to survive the wage-price controls.

Thank you.

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The Bootblack Stand

George Washington Plunkitt

Dr. George Washington Plunkitt, our prize-winning political analyst, is celebrating the publication of his new book, which is now available at avant-garde *bookstores throughout New Jersey. Dr. Plunkitt's book is about the importance of altruism in politics and it is titled* What's in It for Me? *Although Dr. Plunkitt expects to earn ten million dollars from sales of his new book, he has agreed to continue to advise public figures through this column. Address all correspondence to The Bootblack Stand, c/o The Establishment, R.R. 11, Box 360, Bloomington, Indiana 47401, Continental U.S.A.*

Dear Mr. Plunkitt:

There is mischief afoot in Washington, and the Ervin committee proves it. What was the Senate up to by putting the most ignorant and lazy man in the United States Senate on such a highly publicized committee? Is this Nixon's scheming yet again?

Apprehensively,
Ashly Tamborine
Ex. Sec.
Citizens for Better Government
Washington, D.C.

My dear Miss Tamborine:

I have had a very difficult time deciding which senator you refer to. I shall operate under the assumption that you are referring to New Mexico's Senator Montoya, the Desert Demosthenes, as I am fond of calling him.

According to the story as I have heard it, there was actually only one senator who really wanted to be on the Ervin committee—the others on the committee are serving as punishment for various infractions of the Senate code regarding shooting rubber bands and launching paper airplanes while on the Senate floor. I speak naturally of Senator Kennedy. Fortunately several astute Democrats finally talked him out of it, for they realized that were his curious daily habits exposed to the public eye, their chances of getting him into the presidency would be slim and none. They hoodwinked poor Senator Montoya into taking his place by an amusing subterfuge. He actually thinks he is participating in a new television show similar to "What's My Line."

—GWP

Dear Mr. Plunkitt:

I spent the better part of the summer watching the televised Watergate hearings. The sight of Senator Ervin impressed me. To think that a man of his age can look so young and possess such a sharp mind! I realize you have many high friends in important places and I would like you to find out for me how Senator Ervin remains in such robust health. Please send your reply to me at the Indiana State Mental Hospital where my wife has installed me after I became emotionally involved with my moth collection.

Opel Thorston
Indianapolis, Indiana

Dear Opel:

I too share your enthusiasm for Senator Ervin. Several years ago I authored a small treatise on American politics, *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall* I believe it was called, in which I drew the distinction between honest and dishonest graft. The notion struck many political scientists as provocative and abhorrent in the extreme. Senator Ervin's recent behavior indicates that this distinguished constitutional expert also adheres to my dichotomy. There is a difference between the foul play of the Watergate variety and the more traditional boodling of gentlemen like Bobby Baker, and Senator Ervin seems to agree.

In 1964 when certain senatorial spoilsports tried to whip up a Senate investigation of the Democratic Administration on the basis of Mr. Baker's misfortunes, Senator Ervin moved with admirable speed to help stifle the investigation by voting it down in all the protean manifestations that these vicious Republicans wrapped it in on the Senate floor. Senator Ervin, like many other redoubtable patriots in the Senate, knows the difference between honest and dishonest graft. I admire him a lot.

I met him in a local saloon the other day and I addressed your question to him. The great man replies: "If you want to have a long active life in the U.S. Senate, never smoke and never take a drink. . . in public."

—GWP

The Great American Column

by C. H. Simonds

No More Minorities!

Good afternoon. I am delighted so many of you could make it, what with all this sunspot activity and the price of copra. I hope to chat with you individually over punch and cookies after the lecture.

Consider, brethren, the Republic. She is sore beset. I do not refer to the late sordid transactions in Washington, just now undergoing an inquisition every bit as sordid; or even to the alarming rise of mixed nude bathing in the coastal provinces. It is to the Minorities Explosion that I address myself; and I take my text from Mr. Abe Martin of Brown County, Indiana: "Nobody ever fergits where they buried the hatchet."

A television network has, according to the newspapers, canceled a vulgar entertainment called *Bridget Loves Bernie*. Bridget is a sweet Catholic girl; Bernie is a nice Jewish boy; they are married; their respective parents have difficulty adjusting to this and to one another—and thereby hangs a situation comedy than which I would sooner watch *Celebrity Bowling*.

The series is being dropped because of objections from "the Jewish community." Objections to what, I cannot imagine: I viewed it once and my wife tuned it in occasionally when I was away at Klonvocations; we can assure you there was nothing offensive in sight. The Jewish parents were portrayed as kindly, earthly-wise, warmhearted and heartwarming, something Sholem Aleichem might have dreamed up in a diabetic stupor. They stood in nice contrast to the rigid, chilly, button-arsed Catholic parents. (No protests were forthcoming from the Catholic community, preoccupied as it is with the question whether Father Phil's and Sister Liz's first baby will have a tail, or merely cloven feet.)

Anyhow, objections there were to something that I, not being of the Hebrew persuasion, must have missed. Or am I monstrously insensitive? Must I squintingly reexamine my every attitude? Is my beloved morning bagel a grotesque overcompensation? Of course not. But I wonder how many BLB-watchers have been made to feel just a trifle . . . guilty.

One must be careful. My copy of *Little Black Sambo* (he was the hero of my

(continued on page 29)

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Book Review

Reflections on the Human Condition

by Eric Hoffer
Harper & Row $4.95

Every so often men of considerable intellectual breadth pause to think upon the condition of mankind. The teachings of Confucius, the essays of Francis Bacon, the discourses of Rousseau, and (to a more limited extent, perhaps) the thoughts of Chairman Mao are just some of the diverse examples of this type of writing which come to mind. Now Eric Hoffer has presented us with another such work, *Reflections on the Human Condition,* a slim volume containing one hundred and eighty-three aphorisms and philosophical comments on the topics of "Between the Dragon and the Devil," "Troublemakers," "Creators," "Prognosticators," and "The Individual." Hereafter, I shall refer to these one hundred and eighty-three observations as "Hofferisms."

Readers of the book, I suppose, will be quick to pounce upon his or her favorite (and least favorite) Hofferisms. However, one shouldn't be too quick to accept or reject a Hofferism on the basis of a single reading; the brevity of many Hofferisms belies the nuances of meaning which may be contained in these nuggets of thought. It should be kept in mind that half the fun of such books comes from rereading portions of the work over a period of several days. That way, one begins to find new truths and new suggestions of truth.

Probably the best way to impart the flavor of this book is to quote directly some of my own favorite Hofferisms:

No. 17: Belief passes, but to have believed never passes.

No. 46: It is cheering to see that the rats are still around—the ship is not sinking.

No. 53: The history of this country was made largely by people who wanted to be left alone. Those who could not thrive when left to themselves never felt at ease in America. This is true not only of the pampered rich, but of the intellectuals, the chronically poor, and to some extent of the Negro.

No. 77: They who lack talent expect things to happen without effort. They ascribe failure to a lack of inspiration or ability, or to misfortune, rather than to insufficient application. At the core of every true talent there is an awareness of the difficulties inherent in any achievement, and the confidence that by persistence and patience something worthwhile will be realized. Thus talent is a species of vigor.

No. 107: How much easier is self sacrifice than self-realization!

No. 132: Sometimes it seems that people hear best what we do not say.

No. 142: There are no chaste minds. Minds copulate wherever they meet.

No. 158: How easy it is for a failure to seem foolish!

No. 176: Our triviality is proportionate to the seriousness with which we take ourselves.

The diversity of these Hofferisms undoubtedly reflects Hoffer's own astonishingly wide range of life experiences (from pea-picking to life as a longshoreman and lecturer). Therefore, it is not too surprising that the five section-titles of the book cannot completely characterize the full panoply of subjects touched upon. For example, some of the Hofferisms included in the section entitled "Between the Dragon and the Devil" seem more concerned with the phenomena of mass movements than with nature or good and evil per se. Personal growth in the sense of "depth" or"maturity" is the subject of Hofferisms placed in the "Creativity" section which also serves as a vehicle for attacks on intellectual elitism.

I am somewhat surprised by Hoffer's final comment in the book in which he states that the individual, rather than society, is timeless and more complex:

No. 183: It is the individual only who is timeless. Societies, cultures, and civilizations—past and present—are often incomprehensible to outsiders, but the individual's hungers, anxieties, dreams, and preoccupations have remained unchanged through the millenia. Thus, we are up against the paradox that the individual who is more complex, unpredictable, and mysterious than any communal entity is the one nearest to our understanding; so near that even the interval of millenia cannot weaken our feeling of kinship. If in some manner the voice of an individual reaches us from the remotest distance of time, it is a timeless voice speaking about ourselves.

Such an observation ignores the basic processes of socialization (i.e., child-rearing, education, religious training) whereby society, to a considerable extent, molds the hungers, desires, and motives of individuals. Incomprehensible societies do not produce comprehensible individuals. Individuals plucked from various historical and cultural settings may have some similar crude biological drives, but they will satisfy those drives in a manner acceptable to their respective societies and within the limits of the technologies available to them. Recalling Hoffer's excellent past work on the dynamics of mass movements (*The True Believer,* 1951), I would have thought that what Hoffer would find fascinating and enduring in the human condition is the *relationship between the individual and society* and the many forms that relationship may take.

Such Hofferisms make one wish for the presence of Hoffer himself, so that one might debate these concise aphorisms with that effusive, boisterous man of the "passionate state of mind" whom we have seen on television interview programs.

But of course! This is what Hoffer probably desired all along: that his own reflections and musings should serve to stimulate others to ponder and debate the human condition.

Frederick R. Lynch

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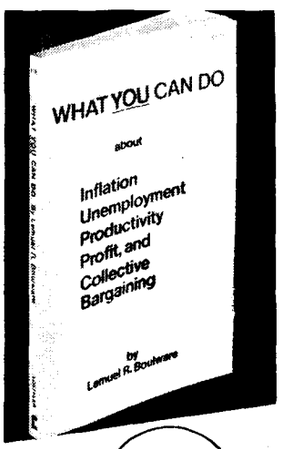

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Correspondence

To the Editor:

Do try, please, to think kindly of Patrick Bosold (Correspondence—May), in spite of his outburst. You are no doubt aware that California's children are under par in education (what they lack in brain, they make up for in brawn—expelled six the other day for proving **that** with two teachers.) So don't hold him accountable if he fails to understand that you're the Alternative to **him**. After all, one gets so busy "self fulfilling" that one forgets there is no **-ism** after Birch, only an occasional **-er**.

But if you ever feel like "going out on the land for a time" to "know the feelings of the Earth better" your best bet is California. Any number of Federal agencies, i.e., O.E.O., E.O.E., A.C.L.U., H.U.D., H.E.W., Justice Dept., etc., will be only too glad to subsidize your stay at Walden's lacuna.

William F. Buckley, Jr. has no peer—in **or** out of context. He has contributed a great deal to our language. I know this, because I watch "Firing Line" and when I hear him use an unfamiliar word, I can always depend on some alert (?) journalist to use it in an article a day or two later. Then Kissinger uses it in his next press release, then the President, then our representatives, then newscasters, and so on down to the common people. So thank God for Buckley, because without him the Oxford English Dictionary would have passed on, here, unnoticed. And so would have beautiful words.

Mrs. John T. Pruitt, Jr.
El Sobrante, California

To the Editor:

You guys are a bunch of - - - - - -. I bet you make Richard Nixon happy. I hope you all go to hell. Your ethical systems are in the - - - -. What kind of Americans are you. Stick with the 18th century.

Rosiland Steiner
Chicago, Illinois

To the Editor:

Concerning Mr. Leslie Lenkowsky's essay on "The Significance of FAP" in the June-Sept. issue of your stellar journal, I notice that he is listed as follows: "Leslie Lenkowsky . . . is completing his doctoral thesis on welfare at Harvard University." I have long suspected that most of Harvard's graduate students are on welfare, but I had hoped that **The Alternative**'s contributors might be of a more productive **sort**. You should really try to pay your contributors more handsomely, so as to avoid this embarrassment.

Perhaps I misread your introductory note. Perhaps you only mean that his dissertation **concerns** "welfare at Harvard University." Anyway, give my best to Mr. Lenkowsky.

Gary North
Irvington, New York

To the Editor:

Your June issue was very good, but I take exception to Leslie Lenkowsky's discussion of welfare. It seems to me that the problem of welfare can best be solved by a government that says "being poor is going to hurt." If Mr. Nixon had not encouraged policies that made poverty profitable, a lot fewer people would choose poverty. Call it a shameless statement if you will, but in a society where the proportion of people living on poverty has steadily declined and where there are pages and pages of jobs available in want ads, I find it very hard to accept the idea that people are "locked into poverty." More likely people are persuaded to remain in it both by wrongheaded policies like FAP and by the present intellectual and spiritual environment that always alibis for the under-achiever and socks it to the guy who works for his daily bread—not the rich guy, mind you, but the hard working average man.

Barbara Mathews
Hartford, Connecticut

To the Editor:

I have enjoyed **The Alternative** from the start, but the last two issues on the origins of the Cold War, revisionist history, and Truman's foreign policy have been superb and reflect high standards of quality.

Keep up the good work.

William R. Van Cleave
Associate Professor
Politics and International Relations
University of Southern California

To the Editor:

Let me extend my congratulations to you, though a bit belatedly, for publishing the two articles by Robert Ferrell on the revisionist historians. I have recently read Robert Maddox's **New Left and the Origins of the Cold War**, which spears the revisionist historians in their most vulnerable spot—their veracity—and which has luckily aroused a good deal of controversy and done much to destroy the credibility of the revisionists. This sorely needed doing, and Maddox's approach is probably the best as a semi-publicistic tactic. But I find Ferrell's approach intellectually more substantial, and probably in the long run more important. You are to be complimented for having given space to such an excellent analysis.

Charles A. Moser
Associate Professor of Russian
The George Washington University
Washington, D.C.

ERRATUM

Due to confusion in this office, a statement in John Lulves' June-Sept. review of Robert F. Turner's monograph, Myths of the Vietnam War, **was erroneously distorted. The United States of course did not "sign" the 1954 Geneva Conference Cease-Fire, but gave only hedged verbal support to the agreement.**

Brudnoy's Film Index

■ **Cleopatra Jones**: No. 96 in the Blaxploitation Follies; the 96th lousy entry in the parade. But she *is* tall (6' 2") and dynamite, if you like that sort of thing.

■ **The Devil In Miss Jones**: More clever than *Deep Throat*; same genre.

■ **The Friends of Eddie Coyle**: Boston looks great; so do some of the corpses. Robert Mitchum shines; but ho hum, another *Godfather* spin-off.

■ **Forty Carats**: Can you endure another May-December romance? I can't. Liv Ullmann, how *could* you? With that twit, Edward Albert, yet.

■ **Hail to the Chief**: Came out last year as *Hail!* to malign Our President Which Art in Washington. Outrageous then, only a tad less so now. If the Right did it to President Kennedy (the once or the future President Kennedy), we would never hear the end of it.

■ **The Harrad Experiment**: Boys and girls shacking up at Har(vard)-rad(cliff) with official blessing. So what else is new?

■ **Hitler: the Last Ten Days**: Seems like a fortnight, but Alec Guiness is magnificent. Hannah Arendt's "banality of evil" theme comes alive.

■ **Jesus Christ Superstar**: A familiar story, some excellent God-pop rock, a majestic set (Israel's deserts), a wee bit of camp ("Herod's Song": "So you're Jesus Christ: Prove to me that you're no fool; Walk upon my swimming pool"); *I* loved it, but few other critics did. They're wrong.

■ **The Last of Sheila**: Devilishly clever, eh wot—for game freaks. Also for those (like your servant) who thought Richard Benjamin would never be anything but an utterly repulsive actor. Here he acts fine, only his character is utterly repulsive. James Mason, as always, showing up his inferiors. Raquel Welch with her two great attributes.

■ **Last Tango in Paris**: Catch it before the Burger Court drives it underground. But don't blame me if you feel ripped off. Five bucks for Brando's backside, inane dialogue (mostly mumbled), and Paris looking unusually ugly?

■ **Live and Let Die**: Agent 007 returns, via Roger Moore, who frowns nicely, and should do some sit-ups. Lots of evil Negroes butchering good guys. Would that the blaxploitation flickers had such style. Also, some hungry crocodiles, sharks, and a gaggle of rednecks straight from the Dodge ad.

■ **Money, Money, Money**: Funny, funny, etc.

■ **O Lucky Man**: O not so lucky filmgoer, and oh my aching rump—it runs for days, or nearly.

■ **Paper Moon**: Ryan O'Neal, daughter Tatum, the Depression, and anyhow, nostalgia is in this month.

■ **State of Siege**: For professional Amerika-haters with no limits in endurance. Trashy and boring, propaganda to the last drop.

■ **Tom Sawyer**: For those who've never read Mark Twain, never intend to, hate literature, but love junky "family" movies; the Nixon Court approves.

■ **A Touch of Class**: Breathes there a man with soul so dead who hasn't stirred *somewhere* to the charms of Glenda Jackson? If so, this one won't convert him. A touch of class? Not even that. Doris Day and Rock Hudson did it better long ago, as did everyone else from 1930 on.

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RUSTHOVEN

(continued from page 4)

hereditary intelligence linked to race? Here the evidence is spotty. Nobel-prize winning physicist William Shockley of Stanford has vociferously argued that such differences do exist, and it is certainly established that blacks score an average of 15 points lower on I.Q. tests than whites. Shockley also cites studies which indicate that certain genes distinctive to whites seem to affect performance on intelligence tests in proportion to their appearance in the genetic make-up of racially mixed populations. For each 1 percent of such genes which appear in blacks, says Shockley, I.Q. performance increases 1 point. Obviously, this is the most sensitive aspect of the entire I.Q. controversy, and much more definitive research is needed before one could hazard a conclusion. But one should at least face the possibility that in the process of evolution, some differences may have developed among races in the make-up of the most complicated organ in the human body. Indeed, it seems quite unlikely that evolution magically yielded precisely equal results in this area.

Regardless of the question of racial linkage, however, the implications of Herrnstein's conclusions for public policy are immense. If heredity is the most important factor, then we will not be able to eliminate social and economic distinctions merely by changing environments and equalizing opportunity (which are difficult propositions in themselves). Indeed, whatever steps are taken in that direction will merely increase the role of heredity in determining what distinctions do exist. In a pure meritocracy, with discrimination eliminated and all social and physical environmental factors somehow "equal," it is difficult to see how the genetic stratification predicted by Herrnstein can be avoided.

It is clear, however, that Herrnstein's predictions cannot be wished away. The real explanation for the violent reaction to "I.Q." lies in its refutation of two of the dearest tenets of western liberal philosophy: the belief that men are equal not only before God and the law, but also substantively; and the faith in man's ability to control any facet of a stubbornly complex universe.

But there is little to support these beliefs, and much evidence to the contrary. Our options are more limited and less pleasant than many would like to believe. If human differences reflect nature more than nurture, then the elimination of those differences is unlikely, and any attempt to do so must necessarily involve public policies and controls totally at conflict with a heritage rooted in individualism and personal freedom. Some, no doubt, would welcome that attempt anyway; most of us, I think, would not.

If the latter is our choice, then, we must also learn that the continued veneration of vague, universal egalitarianism is an indulgence we cannot afford. No sensitive man wants to perpetuate discrimination; no fair man believes in unequal opportunity. But all sensitive, fair, and reflective men should recognize that the elimination of these evils will not yield a society of equally intelligent people doing equally fulfilling tasks for equally high rewards. The editors of *The Atlantic* spoke precisely to this point in their introduction to "I.Q.": "The subject of intelligence is an [important, albeit painful, social] issue—important because social legislation must come to terms with actual human potentialities, painful because the actualities are sometimes not what we vainly wish." □

SIMONDS

(continued from page 26)

pancake-eating youth) is hidden beneath the dust jacket from *The Story of O*. Mr. Capano down the hall tells me repulsive jokes about Italians. Dare I tell him a repulsive joke about Italians? Or shall I make them Poles? But then will Mr. Capano relay the story unaltered to Mr. Pilsudski, with attribution? The black waiter has spilled bearnaise sauce on my spats; shall I undertip him? overtip him? Please, what is fifteen percent of four-hundred-years-of-slavery-and-oppression? Chicanos are exploited; do I dare to eat a peach?

Do not mistake me: I am a thorough believer in minority rights. I pine for a golden future in which Americans of every race, creed, and nationality, standing together as brothers, will be free to berate and revile one another without fear or favor. As a national pastime, mutual antagonism is certainly preferable to the mass calisthenics and folk-dancing beloved of totalitarian regimes.

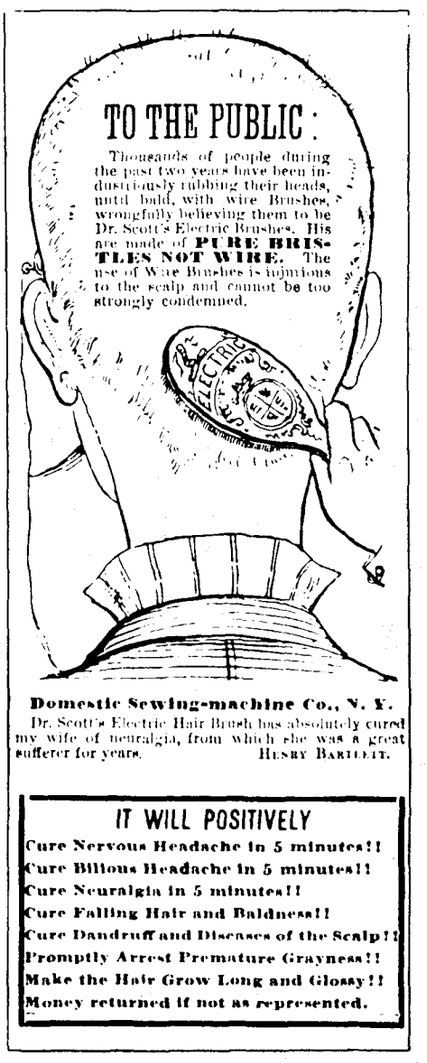
But *which* minorities? And how many? And is there any end to rights? Certainly, we are afflicted with bogus minorities—for instance, women, a species so numerous and so unfettered as to come near constituting a public nuisance. Some years ago a Miss Valerie Solanas struck a blow for the fancied rights of her sex by shooting and seriously wounding Mr. Andy Warhol. Had she acted yesterday, a new bogus minority, Czechoslovak-American underground film-makers, would be filling the streets today, demanding counter-liberation from armed Sapphoids.

Then there is the problem of minorities overreacting. A group of blacks led by a latter-day Joan of Arc, Miss Joanne Chesimard, struggled lately for the rights of blacks by gut-shooting white policemen. Those policemen, though not yet certified as an aggrieved minority, retaliated by stifling Miss Chesimard and her companions in jail, pending what promises to be a most interesting trial in the course of which the defense will remind us that while shooting policemen is perhaps unwise, nevertheless *et cetera*.

With this morning's milk come the tidings that gay liberation has been carried to its logical extreme by the late Mr. Dean Corll of Houston, Texas, who spiced his deviant activities with a refreshingly direct approach to the important question of population control. The neighbors all agree that Mr. Corll was a "nice, quiet man"; America's nice, quiet men are up in arms over the slur.

The list is endless: American aborigines, who have elevated themselves from the savagery of setting fire to white farmers to the sophistication of setting fire to other aborigines' house trailers; Italian-Americans, who had a good thing going in the media until a black man, resentful of competition in the limited indignation market, gunned down their Moses; urnings of every inclination; hyphenate Americans who trace themselves to every backwater in your stamp album; young people; old people; the list grows daily, and the 1976 Democratic National Convention will have to be held at Watkins Glen, New York.

If we are to survive as a nation, steps must be taken now. Any person wishing to speak or act in behalf of an aggrieved minority must be required to obtain a license and to remove all of his, her, or its clothing (to prevent the concealment of lethal weapons). Each such spokesperson must be transported, at government expense, to India, the Rub Al-Khali, or Greenwich Village—all places where naked fanatics uttering strange cries are treated with respect, even reverence. Only then will the rest of us—white, black, brown, yellow, red, lavender, Catholic, Jew, Separate Baptist, Muslim (all flavors), straight, crooked, gay, solemn—be able to go about our lawful business. □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Thousands of people during the past two years have been industriously rubbing their heads, until bald, with wire Brushes, wrongfully believing them to be Dr. Scott's Electric Brushes. His are made of PURE BRISTLES NOT WIRE. The use of Wire Brushes is injurious to the scalp and cannot be too strongly condemned.
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Make the Hair Grow Long and Glossy!!
Money returned if not as represented.

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"Whom the gods destroy they first make mad"– Euripides

Current Wisdom

THE FOUR BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT

Herblock, the new Madison, renders a space-age version of the American Constitution:

The role of the free press in all this has been to do exactly what it was set up to do—to act as a check on all government.

—*International Herald Tribune*

ROYAL AMOUR

A report on the curious mating habits of European peacocks from the redoubtable International Herald Tribune**:**

Princess Anne has flown from West Berlin to Hannover, where she was met by her fiancé, Lt. Mark Phillips. Their embrace was described by an airport official as "very tender." The Lieutenant was scheduled to compete on Saturday in a riding competition at Bad Lippspringer.

—*International Herald Tribune*

AMERICAN EXPORT

Not only an example of the contagious nature of American liberalism, but proof that it can even be improved. Hail the Australian wowser:

In Australia—where the beer is notoriously strong—a judge has proposed that beer cans be labeled with a warning against rape—along the lines of the health-hazard warnings on cigaret packages. The Brisbane judge, sentencing two youths to seven years in jail for raping a girl of 11, said there was ample evidence to connect drinking and "the availability of cars" with multiple rape cases. He said it might also be a good idea to display similar warnings in snack bars and to print them on driving licenses.

—*International Herald Tribune*

ETERNAL VIGILANCE

From the editorial department of the New York Times **where every lover of liberty, soon or late, becomes a busybody and a boor:**

Such lethal circuses are in no sense justified by their morbid popularity (concern for human life). But there are important secondary issues also, notably the wasteful consumption of fuel at a time of shortages which threaten to curtail the legitimate use of automobiles and aircraft. Such intolerable waste—along with the glorification of murderous speed — in the face of a worsening energy crisis is comparable to the public burning of food at a time of famine. The 1973 debacle at Indianapolis deserves to be turned into tombstone and epitaph of a savage aberration in the world of sport.

—*New York Times*

POLITICAL ANALYSIS

The profundity of Herblock, cartoonist:

I don't think our real national security is to be found in the use of rubber stamps—or rubber gloves.

—*International Herald Tribune*

LAW AND ORDER

From Philadelphia comes word of youth culture's latest triumph:

Police have a 90-year-old woman narcotics suspect on their hands.

Police said Mrs. Francis Kelly was arrested Saturday night after several women complained that she was selling narcotics. The arresting officer said he chased her a short distance and caught her when she failed in an attempt to climb a wall.

Police said the woman dropped three glazed packets containing a white powder believed to be heroin. A neighbor said she had noticed teenagers going in and out of Mrs. Kelly's home lately.

—*International Herald Tribune*

QUACKERIES

Dr. Alvin Toffler, self-described "futurologist" and author of the best-selling scientific treatise, Future Shock, **offers his prescient suggestions for tomorrow's calaboose or as he calls them, "experimental sanctions." Read and marvel:**

In the future, I believe, we will make far greater use of them, recognizing their profound educational and rehabilitative value. Here are some examples of how this might be done: while some of them are trivial, they illustrate a process that might be applied to a more serious matter as well. Thus, instead of hitting a parking violator with a succession of, by and large, useless fines, a judge could, under an experiential system do the following. Sentence him to a day of street cleaning, during which he must remove the garbage from under the illegally parked cars. Or perhaps park a city truck in the offender's driveway for a week. Or impound his car not for an hour or two, but for a month or two, so that the sentence forces experiential changes in the offender's life. Today we impound for the wrong reasons and for the wrong time periods.

A vandal who has ripped a seat on the bus or subway might be sentenced to a day or two in a seat factory, or at painting and maintenance work at the depot. Offenders who ripped the telephone book out of the public booth might be given a week of cleaning the urine smell out of those phone booths. A shoplifter who has taken clothing from a store might have her own clothes impounded for a week or a month, and so forth. One could, it seems to me, be far more imaginative in the kinds of things we do.

—*Encounter*

PRESIDENTIAL POWER

Another example of the "activist" president in motion:

Albert Barke, 89, was honored as the area's oldest scout by local Cub Scout packs at a special ceremony recently. Barke, who has been a Boy Scout leader since 1914, was presented with a citation from President Nixon.

—*Washington Post*

APOCALYPSE, INC.

Theodore White, author, discusses his new book on the infamous 1972 election and brings every pious American's blood to the boiling point:

Watergate is an outrage. . . . It's a crime and I won't be happy until I see at least a half dozen of those guys in jail. But I'm not competing on the piety and indignation circuit. Watergate isn't the crisis of American civilization. The crisis is the inability to manage our economy, the inability to manage our cities. I'm telling people about a watershed election, an election that's going to change their lives.

It signals "the breakup of the traditional party system in America," he says. "It says the Democratic Party has lost the South forever. It says that the working men no longer belong to the Democratic Party. It says that there is possible in this country a moderate national anti-black alliance. These are startling phenomena."

—*Wall Street Journal*

CHINESE SPOKEN HERE

Either Nicholas von Hoffman is new to English or he is sending his messages in code:

Senator Sam and his colleagues are doing a work of fearful destruction in the Old Senate Caucus Room. They have set fire to Howdy Doody Land, snipped the ears off the Mouseketeers and worked an intimidating devastation on the Decade of Johnny Unitas, the cool, well-behaved, crew-cut years of precision and technique.

In calling to the witness stand this long string of young men, each of whom grows his sideburns to the regulation mid-ear length, they have shattered the myth of the American Good Boy, Mom's Boy and Pop's Pride. Porter, Sloan, Magruder and the rest with the indistinguishable inter-changeable faces are the first full suburban generation to take all their moral nourishment from Walt Disney, but Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs—Sleepy, Sneezy, Happy, Dopey, Grumpy, Bashful and Doc—have, in real life, turned into Black Dick and the Seven CREEPS, Sneaky, Sleazy, Greedy, Tacky, Dirty, Awful and Shlock.

—*Washington Post*

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(continued from page 3)

lars is all he will expend on food—an expense presumably that does not include his liquid refreshment. And Ralph Abernathy, D.D. recanted his resignation as head of the Southern Christian Leadership after hearing God whisper a few memorable lines into his ear in colloquial English. But perhaps the most memorable lines of the month were not uttered by God but by Mr. William N. Walker, the imaginative general counsel of the Cost of Living Council who is recorded to have said in Chicago that "an adequate supply of beef is available...you don't see it but it's there."

• In New York, devotees of nostalgia were given a glimpse at the good old days when a lynch mob demanding the neck of the suspected murderer of a seven-year-old boy gathered on the doorstep of a stationhouse on the lower East Side. But progressives in Santa Cruz, California, were dismayed when former honor student and ecologist, Mr. Herbert Mullin, was found guilty of murder, despite his claim that his killings were committed in the public interest. As Mr. Mullin relates it, his victims were merely sacrifices "to save California from earthquakes."

• Miss Mary Vechio, the famed "kneeling girl" of Kent State now charged with being a common floozy, blamed news coverage of her arrest on that famous picture of her taken in 1970 after four students died in a Kent State campus shoot out. And from Miami comes word that landlady Ms. Bonnie Blanchard, 55, kept an eighty-five-year-old tenant, Mr. Victor Hartman, on a leash. Mr. Hartman was found at the bottom of a garbage can into which he had fallen while trying to escape Ms. Blanchard's lodgings.

• On August 15, after Julie Nixon Eisenhower had addressed a meeting of deaf-mutes, her father delivered a long-anticipated speech on Watergate to a national television audience, which greeted him with groans and snorts. But one week later he brought the house down with a forceful and persuasive press conference, televised from the western White House. After announcing that Mr. Henry Kissinger would be nominated to succeed the retiring Secretary of State William Rogers, the President accepted blame for the Watergate misfortune, affirmed his intention to remain President, and voiced his confidence in Vice-President Agnew. Joseph P. Kennedy III had another automobile accident and was convicted of negligent driving. The sixteen-year-old son of the Rt. Hon. Ron Dellums (Democratic Representative from California) pleaded guilty to a charge of first-degree armed robbery. And the reform governor of Illinois, Governor Daniel Walker, came under investigation for campaign improprieties. Finally when Air Force M. Sgt. A. Schulke said he wanted to file court-martial charges against President Nixon in the Watergate case, he was put in a psychiatric ward.

• In East Lansing, Michigan, the police firing range had to close down temporarily because the mink mating season began a month early. And Jeb Stuart Magruder, former deputy director of President Nixon's reelection campaign, pleaded guilty to helping plan the Watergate caper. Carlo Bergamini drove blindfolded through the streets of Carrara, Italy, for forty-three minutes, claiming a world record for his achievement. And Pierre Beltois, the French playboy and adventurer, who, on the early morning of April 23, 1971, set out from Normandy Beach to swim the Atlantic, has yet to appear in New York Harbor as promised—which is probably for the best because the American decay has set in pretty deep. Authorities of the National Soap Box Derby announced in Ohio that this year's champion has been disqualified for stashing a tiny motor in his vehicle. Legal action may ensue.

• August, starring goldenrod, airborne insects, Mr. Dean Corll, The Ervin Committee, and President Nixon, will be a difficult month to surpass, even for Detroit, whose trashy products will go on exhibit in September.

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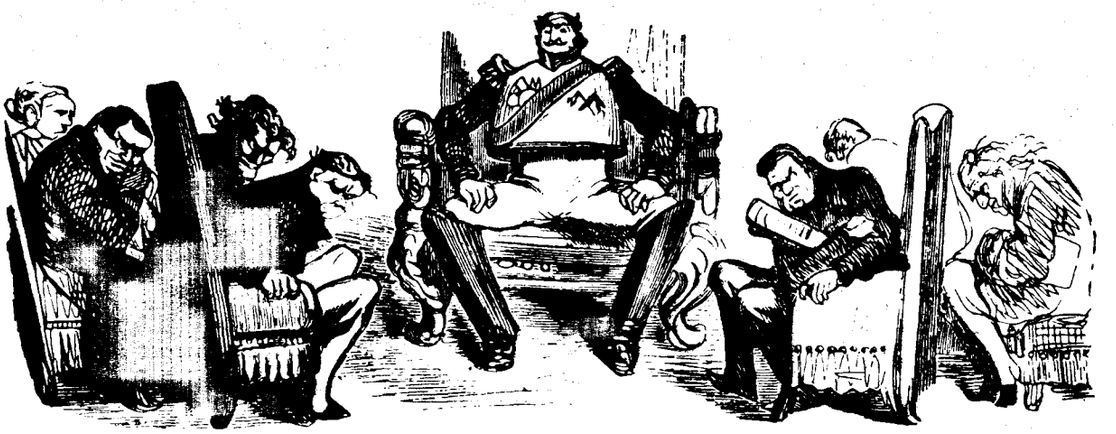

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